IRELAND'S STORY

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By the forgetful waters they forget not thee O Inis-fail.
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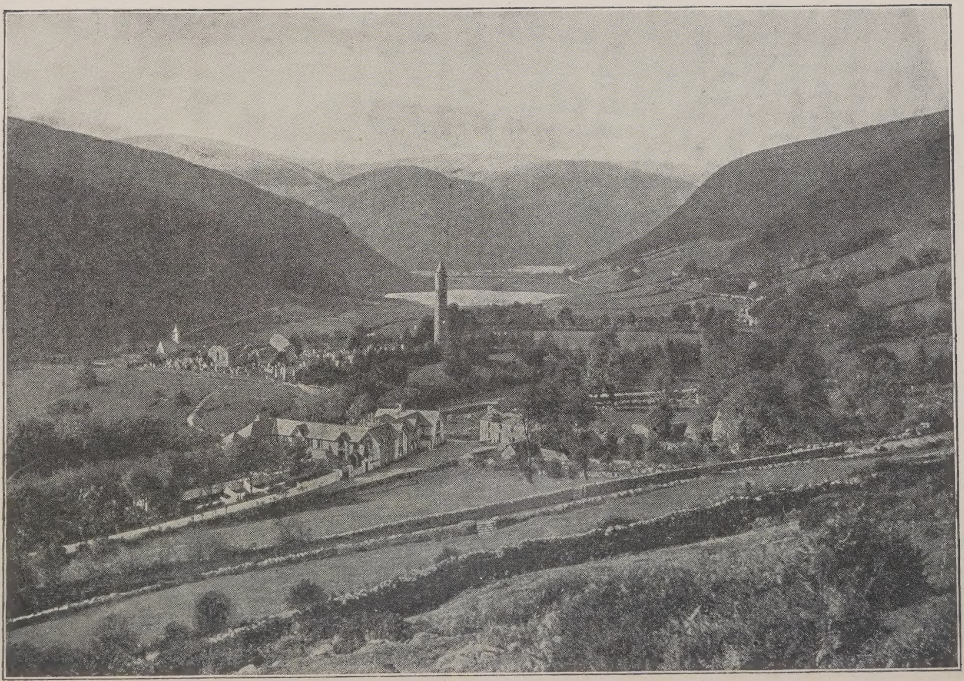

GLENDALOUGH

During the seventh and eighth centuries this was one of the most frequented centres of learning. St. Kevin's house is seen on the left of the picture and the round tower in the middle.

IRELAND'S STORY

BY

CHARLES JOHNSTON

AND

CARITA SPENCER

New Edition

WITH AN ADDITIONAL CHAPTER: 1904–1922

BY CARITA SPENCER DANIELL

ILLUSTRATED

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PREFACE TO NEW EDITION

For this new edition of *Ireland's Story*, an additional chapter has been written which traces events in Ireland up to the end of 1922 — a period more critical and of greater import, perhaps, than any other of equal duration in the history of the island. The Irish Free State is proclaimed and acknowledged. Erin's longed-for dream has now the possibility of accomplishment. Will this restless, gifted people turn its new-found freedom to selfish self-destruction, or will it be the pioneer of peace in a new Europe which must be born unless the end of Western civilization has truly come? Some day there will be an answer and then another chapter may be written.

For data supplied acknowledgment is gratefully made to Mr. V. St. Clair Mackenzie, of London, England, and to Professor Harry J. Carman, of Columbia University, New York City.

Carita Spencer Daniell

January, 1923.

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PREFACE

"IRELAND'S STORY" has been written not as a record of the dead past, but as a beacon for the living future. It is inspired by a belief in the Irish race, now spread far beyond its island home, through many lands, beneath many skies. The Irish race has a great part to play in the history of the future; and present and future can be understood only by a knowledge of the past.

The story of Ireland may be viewed in many ways. First, as a part of universal history: its ancient traditions are rich and full of clues to the races of the early world; its archaic treasures are abundant; its old stone monuments wonderfully preserved. In illumining the shadowy dawn of early Europe, and especially of those northern lands whose children now lead the world, no country can aid us so much as Ireland.

Then we must reckon Ireland's early heroic poems and tales, ampler than those of any European land, save only Greece and Italy, and giving us the truest and richest picture of the archaic life of Europe, still untouched by Greece and Rome. The great personages of the Irish epics stand out as clear as the heroic figures who fought around Troy, or the inspired leaders of Attica and Sparta and the City of the Seven Hills.

Next comes Ireland's part in the Drama of Faith. Ireland may well be called the new Ark of the Covenant; for in the little western isle was stored up the treasure of the Gospel, brought thither first by Patrick.

Preserved miraculously from the barbarian raids which swept away the Roman Empire and covered Europe with heathen conquerors, this treasure was presently brought forth and carried abroad, first to Great Britain, then to Belgium and France, Switzerland, Germany and Austria, Italy and Spain, and even to the twilight confines of Norway and Iceland. Beautiful illuminated manuscripts from Ireland rekindled the learning of Europe, after the barbarian conquest of the Goths and Vandals, Angles and Franks.

From the following epochs of Ireland's story, there are many lessons to be learned, but the best of them is this: that in the life of nations there works a providential destiny, not only in prosperity but in adversity, and perhaps most of all in adversity; that in Ireland's life this Providence, working through conquest, oppression, and misery, has miraculously preserved the pure spirit of the race in its pristine unworldliness and faith, its belief in holiness and in the spiritual world; and that this spirit so preserved, and now dispersed through many lands, is to-day one of the great treasures of humanity.

Every reader of Irish race will find here a tale to make him proud of his parentage and his inheritance; a tale of valor and endurance; a tale of genius and inspiration; a tale of self-sacrifice and faith. Such a one, thus looking back proudly to a worthy and noble past, may look forward with hope for the future, and with a sense of consecration for the spiritual destiny of the Irish race.

THE AUTHORS.

NEW YORK, February 1, 1905.

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IRELAND'S STORY

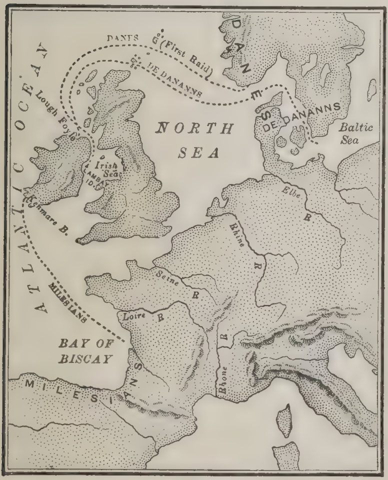
CHAPTER I

THE LEGENDARY RACES

TRADITIONAL DATE: B. C. 2000

Invaders from the Baltic.

1. **The coming of the De Dananns.** In ancient times, along the shores of the Baltic Sea, there lived a race of tall and mighty warriors, called the De Danann tribe. They had golden hair which hung down on their shoulders, blue eyes, and straight features like the Greeks. A band of these De Danann warriors, under Nuadat, their ruler, embarked in their long ships, to seek new lands.



THE PATH OF IRELAND'S EARLY INVADERS

They sailed across the rough North Sea, around the capes and islands of Scotland, and then turned southward, till they came to the entrance of Lough Foyle. Before them, to the south, were forests and mountains, and a river flowed to meet them, coming from among the hills.

Attracted by the pleasant appearance of this river, they sailed on, as far as their boats could carry them, and then, landing on the bank, they burned their vessels, determined to meet their destiny in this new home. Thus, when discovered by the inhabitants of the land, they were taken for magical beings who had dropped from the skies or risen out of the earth.

2. Their reception by the Firbolgs. At this time, there were already two races in Ireland, the Firbolgs and Fomorians. They were both dark-haired races. The Fomorians were tall, and were great seamen and fishermen, living on the islands and on the western coast. The Firbolgs were a short race, like the Laplanders, and dwelt more inland. Their high chief was Eocaid, remembered as the last king of the Firbolgs.

Eocaid was the first to get tidings of the arrival of the strangers. He gathered the Firbolg chiefs in council, and after a long debate it was decided that Sreng, the strongest among them, should go forth to learn what he could of the De Dananns. The De Dananns heard of his coming, and Breas, one of their mightiest warriors, was sent forth to meet him. Breas carried a long, slender spear, sharp-pointed, and made of golden bronze, while Sreng's spear was thick and heavy, of dull metal, with a broad end. Both warriors had swords and shields. Breas, messenger of the De Dananns, spoke first, and said that, as the rivers were full of fish, and the forests full of deer, the two peoples might live peaceably together without a contest.

The meeting of Sreng and Breas.

The Firbolgs were unwilling to agree to this plan, and declared for war. The De Dananns retreated westward to the land which lies between the lakes of Corrib and Mask, where Mayo and Galway now join. Here they encamped on a commanding hill. Nuadat, the De Danann king, once more tried to come to a peaceful agreement with the Firbolgs, but the latter refused all terms. So the two hosts, the golden-haired and black-haired warriors, met at Mag Tured, "the plain of the rock pillars," and the fight lasted all day long. The followers of Nuadat proved the stronger. The fighting continued beside the two lakes until there remained only three hundred Firbolg warriors, under Sreng as leader. Nuadat then offered terms to Sreng. The latter was to choose and rule one of the five divisions of Ireland, and the conquerors were to have the rest. Sreng chose the western province, which was later called Connaught.

Battle of Southern Mag Tured.

3. Contest with the Fomorians. As King Nuadat was seriously wounded, Breas was chosen to rule in his stead. The new ruler was half De Danann and half Fomorian. He finally became so tyrannous and overbearing that the people could endure him no longer, and he was driven from the kingdom. He fled to his Fomorian kinsman, Balor of the Evil Eye, and persuaded him to attack the De Dananns. Nuadat, healed of his wound, was again in power. He prepared his army to meet the foe, and a hot battle was fought at Northern Mag Tured between the two forces, which ended in the complete defeat of the Fomorians, and left the De Dananns undisputed masters of Ireland. In this battle the De Danann king, Nuadat, and many chieftains on both sides were slain.

Battle of Northern Mag Tured.

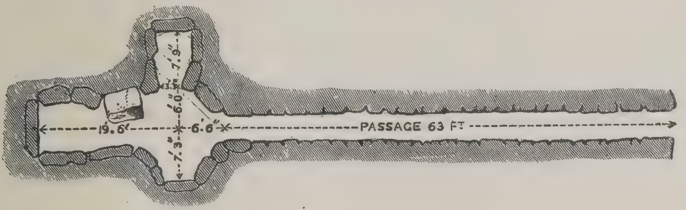
4. The legend of the Dagda's harp. In the second battle of Mag Tured the Fomorians carried off the harp of the Dagda, spiritual chief of the De Dananns. Some De Dananns pursued the Fomorians, seeking to recover it. The chiefs of the Fomorians, leaving the battlefield far behind, and thinking they had eluded their pursuers, halted to refresh themselves and rest. They had gathered together for a banquet, hanging the captured harp on the wall, when the pursuing De Dananns burst in upon them. Before the Fomorians had even risen to their feet, the Dagda called to his harp to come to him. The harp recognized its master's voice, says the legend, and came to him, leaping from the wall, killing nine men on the way. The harp set itself in the hands of its master, who played on it three wonderful strains. The first was the music of tears. When they heard it the women of the Fomorians wept. The second was the music of mirth. As the Dagda played it, the young men burst into laughter. Then he played the third strain, the music of dreams, and the children and the women and the warriors of the Fomorians sank into sleep. So the pursuers safely returned to the De Danann camp.

This most ancient tradition credits the De Dananns with bringing to Ireland the knowledge of music, one of the genuine magical arts, with the harp so celebrated through all Irish history. Thousands of the early harp

PYRAMID AT NEWGRANGE
Part of the outer row of stones is to be seen in the foreground

melodies of Ireland have come down to us, some of them of very great antiquity, some connected by tradition with definite historic episodes, and many of them of extreme beauty and musical value.

5. The civilization of the De Dananns. Numerous monuments have been accredited by tradition to the De Dananns, but the greatest and most worthy of notice are the three wonderful pyramids at Brugh on the Boyne, now called the mounds of Newgrange, Knowth, and Dowth. Here, in a fertile plain, once wooded, in a bend of the river Boyne, ten miles from the sea, stand three great stone pyramids a mile apart, the ancient shrines and sacred places of the De Dananns. The middle pyramid is the largest of the three. It is a mass of two hundred thousand tons of stone, surrounded by a wall of large boulders, with an outer circle of huge stones guarding it like so many giant sentinels. In the heart of this monument is a chamber formed like a cross, with a high roof, and mysterious tracings on the walls. This is the innermost shrine.



PLAN OF THE CHAMBER IN THE NEWGRANGE PYRAMID

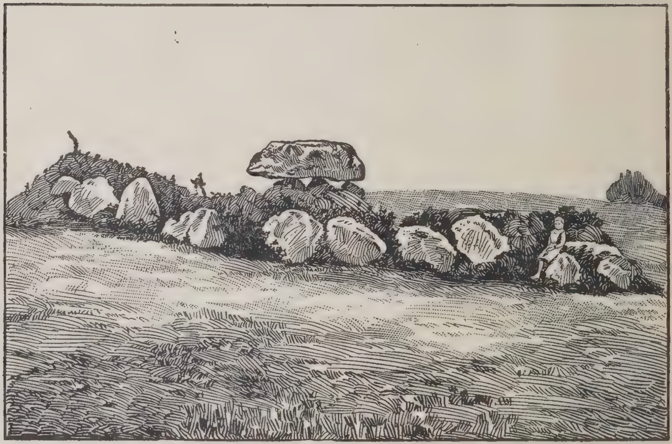
Irish pyramids.

In these tombs and sanctuaries we still find traces of the civilization of the De Dananns, and relics of their handicraft and skill, such as granite basins, which have been called baptismal fonts, ornaments, beads, combs, and amber trinkets. The

Relics of De Danann art.

shrines and what they contain enable us to identify the golden-haired invaders of ancient Ireland with the people of the Baltic lands.

6. **The stone circles and cromlechs.** Even more wonderful than the huge stone pyramids accredited by tradition to the De Dananns is another class of monuments found all over Ireland. This class of monuments includes the great stone circles wrongly called Druidical Circles — since they are far older than the Druids — and the cromlechs or dolmens, which often stand in the centre of the stone circles. A cromlech always consists of a huge stone supported by several others, almost equally huge, which stand like the legs of a table, upholding the large upper block. These cromlechs are in a way the most awe-inspiring and mysterious monuments in the world. We find them all over the island, on the plains and in the mountains, huge silent relics, so old that even



STONE CIRCLE AND CROMLECH AT CARROWMORE

legends concerning them have vanished utterly. Thus at Carrowmore near Sligo there are more than sixty large stone circles, several of which have cromlechs within them; and this is only one place among many. The stones are all very massive, and are often twice the height of an ordinary man. In Glen Druid in the Dublin mountains is a cromlech whose granite crown weighs seventy tons. The upper stone of the cromlech at Howth measures nearly twenty feet square, is eight feet thick, and weighs a hundred tons. It originally rested on twelve rugged pillars, seven feet high. How this enormous block was put in place is still a mystery. Sometimes the stone blocks of the great circles stand edge to edge, forming a giant temple open to the sky, with a similar smaller ring inside, and an avenue of tall pillars forming an approach. Such an arrangement as this may be seen on the shore of Lough Gur in Limerick. Then there are spaced circles, groups of circles, and irregular groups of huge boulders.

Mystery of the cromlechs.

7. Who built the cromlechs? The growth of peat over certain of these stone circles shows that they were put in place several thousand years ago, long before the arrival of the De Dananns. They are, therefore, the work of some older race, such as the Firbolgs or Fomorians, whom the De Dananns found in Ireland on their arrival.

The ancient Greeks and Romans describe a far-northern race, whom they called the Hyperboreans, who dwelt in caves, in the north of Europe, several thousand years ago. They were men of small stature, sallow complexion, and black hair, and everything goes to show that they are the same race which Irish tradition calls the Firbolgs. While this race is old enough to have built the cromlechs, several considerations keep us from believing that they did so. The

Probably not built by the Firbolgs.

chief of these is that of locality. The cromlechs are found over a large area, and in many regions where there were no Firbolgs or Hyperboreans to build them.

The Fomorians or Atlanteans.

There is, however, another race, which is probably that called Fomorian by Irish tradition, whose distribution coincides exactly with that of the cromlechs and stone circles. The tribes of this tall, dark race seem to have had their centre of dispersion near Gibraltar, and to have spread in two directions. To the south, they overran the African coast as far as Algiers and Tunis, spreading thence to the islands of Sardinia, Malta, and Minorca, and landing on the southeast coast of Spain. To the north, they spread over Portugal and northern Spain, the west coast of France, especially Brittany, Ireland, the west coast of Britain, and the Atlantic border of Norway. As they seem to have come from Mount Atlas, and always kept close to the Atlantic, the tribes of this race have been called Atlanteans. It is interesting to note that cromlechs and great stone circles, such as have been described in Ireland, are found scattered over the entire country, from Africa to Norway, at one time ruled and inhabited by the tall, dark Fomorians or Atlanteans. The cromlechs are not found elsewhere, and remnants of this race are not found in countries where there are no cromlechs. So all the conditions seem to be fulfilled, and we can with very great probability identify the Fomorians with the cromlech-builders. This strong and athletic race, full of the spirit of adventure, must have ruled for long centuries in a land of peace and plenty, engaged amongst other things in building temples and tombs containing blocks of stone so large that a thousand men could hardly lift them. Its rulers must have held great power to command such work.

SUMMARY

The golden-haired De Dananns came down from the Baltic Sea, landed at Lough Foyle, and, after burning their ships, proceeded inland. They came into contact with two dark-haired races who already inhabited Ireland. Two battles followed, at Southern Mag Tured against the Firbolgs, and at Northern Mag Tured against the Fomorians. In both battles the De Dananns were victorious.

To the De Dananns is attributed the building of the great pyramids along the Boyne. Relics of their art, which have been found in these pyramids, point to a high degree of civilization.

Other ancient monuments in Ireland are the cromlechs and great stone circles, probably built by the Fomorians.

CHAPTER II

THE MILESIANS

Traditional Dates: B. C. 1700–B. C. 1000

8. Arrival of the Sons of Milid. The De Danann established themselves in Ireland, and soon gained full sway over the island. For several centuries, they ruled in comparative quiet, and built their mighty pyramids. Then they were forced to yield, surrendering to later conquerors. The new invaders were the "Sons of Milid," who came, tradition tells us, from either Gaul or Spain, at a date probably more than three thousand years ago. At that period, the race which we know as the Gauls held sway over the whole of Central Europe, from Austrian Galicia to Galicia on the west coast of Spain, both of which provinces still preserve the name of the Galli or Gauls. In Ireland, this race was called Gaedel, or Gael, and in all the vast area which it inhabited, whether on the continent or in Ireland, this race had always the same character and form: tall, stalwart, inclined to stoutness, with brown or red hair and gray or hazel eyes, and with a complexion easily tanned by sun and wind.

Gaelic invasion.

The ships of the Sons of Milid, says the legend, landed, after great difficulty, due to the De Danann magical arts, on the strand of Kenmare Bay in Kerry. They routed the De Danann, and pursued them northward, overtaking them at Tailten on the Blackwater, in what is now Meath. Here another battle was fought, at a place ten miles west of Tara, which assured the foothold of the Sons of Milid in the land of their adoption, and gave the death-blow to the supremacy of the De Danann pyramid-builders. Thus the fourth of the ancient races came to Ireland.

They overcome the De Dananns.

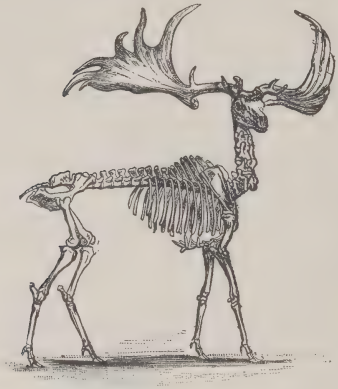
9. The Ireland of the Milesians. One can easily form an idea of the land in which these successive invaders made their home by picturing an island, oblong in shape, three hundred miles long and a hundred and seventy-five miles wide. The north and the south are mountainous, while the centre is a plain, whose waters are carried off by the Shannon and the Boyne. In the northern and southern mountain regions alike, the hills run from northeast to southwest. The highest are about three thousand feet, and nearly all are of rounded forms, with grass and heather to their summits. In the days of the early races, these mountains, like the higher regions of the central plain, were covered with woods largely formed of oak-trees; the rest of the plain was open grass-land, or marsh and bog. As much of the land was thus covered with woods, leaving little space for tillage, it was considered an act worthy of high praise to clear away the forest, and open up new land, and the names of many early chiefs are remembered in the Annals for work of this kind. Later, much of the forest was cut down for fuel, or to be used in smelting iron ore, so that at present the country is comparatively bare of trees. In the beginning, however, it was a land of forests, mountains, and lakes, very wild and very beautiful.

Mountains, lakes, and forests.

In the thickets of the forests and on the mountains, from times much more remote than those of the earlier traditional races, there were vast herds of wild cattle, deer of several kinds, and wild boars.

Animals.

Largest among the deer were the giant Irish elks which continued to live and thrive for many thousand years, but disappeared in the days of the earliest races. These vast herds of deer and cattle were preyed on in times extremely remote by tigers and grizzly bears, but in later years these became extinct, and their worst enemies were wolves and wild dogs. On the rocky crags of the mountains golden eagles made their nests; and white fish-hawks, or ospreys, hovered over the lakes in the great central plain and among the hills. The glades of the forest resounded with the songs of innumerable blackbirds and thrushes, and above the open meadows skylarks trilled up under the clouds. Myriads of smaller birds filled the forests with life among the glades carpeted in spring with yellow primroses, wood anemones, and dark blue hyacinths. The rivers, with the lakes which fed them, were full of fish, big silver salmon, speckled trout, and a score of others. Gray herons with long plumes, standing silent in the margin of the rivers, watched for the young fish; and otters pursued the salmon through the deep pools and under the waterfalls.


SKELETON OF THE GREAT IRISH ELK
The height to the tip of the antler is about twelve feet

Birds.

Fish.

In the age of the great oak forests, Ireland was warmer than now. Through the long summer days of sunshine, the woods teemed with stirring life. Then with autumn and the shortening days

Climate.

the leaves began to wither on the oaks, hanging there brown and dry till midwinter, then falling in a russet carpet on the grass, where the wild boars gathered, seeking for the fallen acorns. The forests were bare then, but for the groves of holly and evergreen yew, and the pines and fir-trees upon the mountains. Little snow fell, and not twice in ten years did ice cover the drinking-pools of the deer among the hills.

Sea-birds.

All around the coasts, with broad reaches of sand on the east and cliffs broken into long, rocky inlets on the west, the gulls clamored incessantly, close to the edge of the tide, a line of gray wings beside the white fringe of the waters. Over the sea yellow-winged solan geese hovered and plunged among the shoals of fish ; black cormorants swam hither and thither among the waves, ever and anon diving under the blue water, or standing, with wings outspread and shivering, on the ledges of the seaweed covered rocks. When the storms came up from the ocean, bringing darkness and rain upon the sea, the white gulls were driven inland to the homes of the ravens and the rooks.

Raths.

10. Life of the early races. Ireland thus richly endowed offered a hospitable refuge to all the races whose coming we have recorded. The deer and wild cattle of the forests, the salmon caught in the weirs, the trout in the mountain streams, the birds of the woods, the lakes, and the seashore gave ample food. The very earliest races lived in caves in the mountains ; later comers built round houses of pine or oak cut from the forests on the hills. When the inhabitants became more numerous, and feuds and quarrels arose among the different races and tribes, these houses were often surrounded with earthen ramparts, circular in form like the houses themselves. These ring-shaped earthworks, survivors of a remote past, are found everywhere in Ireland to-day, and are called forts, forraths, or raths.

Early weapons, clothes, and ornaments.

Even before the coming of the De Dananns, the Fomorians and Firbolgs had made weapons and implements of metal, using chiefly bronze, the material for which they obtained from the abundant copper ores in the mountains. They made clothes of leather prepared from the skins of the deer they killed for food. They adorned themselves with necklaces of shells, of pebbles pierced like beads, and wore armlets or bracelets roughly made of copper, silver, or even gold. With the coming of the De Dananns came a new development of knowledge and skill, and a greater wealth of moral and mental life. They made much more beautiful weapons, gracefully shaped like the weapons of the ancient Greeks, and of a finer material, a golden bronze that even to-day shines like gold. It is probable that their skill in metal work influenced the art of the Sons of Milid who came after them.

The bronze-work of the De Dananns.

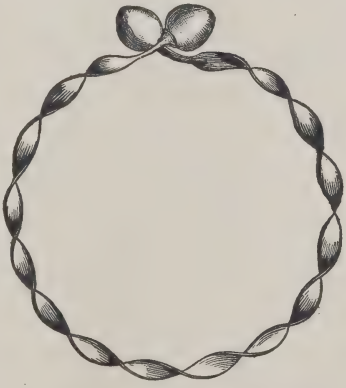
11. Early social life of the Milesians. But for all their skill and knowledge, the De Dananns seem to have been hunters only, ignorant of agriculture. It is only after the coming of the Sons of Milid, who brought their knowledge from Continental Europe, that we hear of the sowing of grain and the weaving of flax. Acorns, dried and ground up, were used instead of grain for bread, not only in early times, but far later. With the Milesians came a riper social life, such as seems only to be developed when the fierce pursuit of wild game has given place to sowing and reaping and the tending of flocks. The relics and treasures which have been found of recent years prove the truth of the stories which have

The agriculture of the Milesians.

Social and artistic development.

come down to us, of the wonderful art and high development which characterized the life and people of that distinctively Irish period, beginning with the coming of the Milesians some three thousand years ago. The art of working gold was carried to a still higher degree of perfection. The gold mines of Wicklow, along the greater and lesser Avons, were one of the sources from which the Milesians and De Dananns drew their supply. These mines were so rich that much gold is still found there, many thousand ounces having been obtained during the last century. We have an abundance of beautiful gold-work from those times, of unparalleled fineness of design and execution, proving that the Milesian goldsmith was not only an excellent artist, but a skilful and indefatigable workman. Modern productions in this art are often commonplace beside the delicate, refined, minute work of the early Irish period. Torques, or twisted ribbons of gold, of varying size and shape, were worn as diadems, collars, or even belts; crescent bands of finely embossed sheet gold were worn above the forehead; brooches and pins, of the most delicate and imaginative workmanship, were used to fasten the folds of the many-colored cloaks worn by the kings and chieftains and warriors. For the Milesians were skilled in the use of dyes. It is recorded that the first three colors used were blue, purple, and

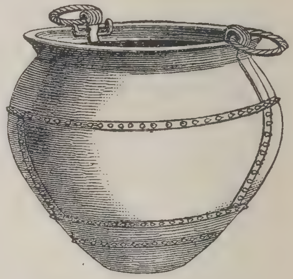
The Wicklow gold mines.



LOOSELY TWISTED TORQUE OF GOLD

The original torque is 5½ inches in diameter green, and to these a rich red, a yellow, a pink, and certain other colors were later added. The king had the right to wear garments of seven colors, the greater chiefs wore six, and so in a descending scale, where rank was shown by the number of hues in the dress. The tribal tartans of Scotland are a relic of this custom. Rings and bracelets were worn. Everything, whether for ornament or use, was richly carved, and the forms of many of the domestic utensils, the earthen pots, the cauldrons of welded sheet bronze, the huge curved war-trumpets, are graceful and artistic.

Richly dyed garments.



ANCIENT IRISH BRONZE CAULDRON

Cauldrons are said to have been introduced into Ireland by the De Dananns

12. The Brehon Laws. The Sons of Milid, who are the Gaels of Irish history, brought with them from the continent a system of laws, called the Laws of the Brehons, from the Gaelic word *brehon*, "a judge." Their central principle is the unity of the family, as even today the father of a family has a certain legal and social authority over his wife, children, and servants. This authority is exactly balanced by the duty of providing for them and liability for their debts. At present the father's responsibility for his sons and his legal authority over them end when they come of age. In primitive Irish society this was not so. Union is strength, and to secure this strength the family remained united even after the sons came of age.

Their underlying principle.

Unity of the family.

Let us imagine the head of such a united family living to a great age, with great-grandchildren growing up around him. Taking his sons and grandsons with their wives, children, and servants, he might easily be the head of a family numbering a hundred, or a hundred and fifty persons. Such a family would be strong enough to hold its own against attack, and, in fact, would be a small state under the authority of a patriarchal head or chief. All his sons and grandsons and their wives had the same surname, derived from the name of their father.

13. The family grows into a tribe. On the death of the father of such an undivided family, it was necessary to choose a new head to exercise authority over the rest and be responsible for them. Where suitable, the eldest son was chosen, but if he was incompetent, or unable to make his authority felt, the general opinion of the family often passed him over in favor of a more worthy head. If we imagine the same family holding together for several generations, and at each generation choosing its most worthy member as head, we have exactly the ancient Irish tribe.

The tribe.

In the Irish families, it became the custom to assign to the chief, or head of the tribe, a definite share of the property of the tribe, in order that he might maintain a certain dignity and state as befitted his authority and representative position. This "chief's portion" passed entire to the chief's successor. On the other hand, the property of other members of the tribe was held in common, the right to enjoy it being divided equally among all their sons. Therefore, while the chief was as rich as his predecessor, or richer, the other members of the tribe tended to become continually poorer, through the perpetual subdivision of their property amongst all their sons. In this way a chasm gradually opened between the chief's family and the rest of the tribe, the chief growing in authority and wealth until the

Division of property.

distinction between the chief's family and the ordinary freemen of the tribe amounted to a difference of class. As there were great numbers of these tribal families in Ireland, their heads gradually formed a class by themselves, a hereditary nobility, distinct from the rest of the people. The "Rig," or king, of Irish history is the head or chief of a powerful family or group of families, and if we keep in mind the structure of such a family and the rivalries between different families, we shall understand the causes of the incessant struggles to be narrated in the chapters which follow.

Origin of classes.

The "Rig" or king.

14. Wealth estimated in cattle. We have spoken of the property of the tribal family. This property consisted primarily of cattle. The herd of the chief naturally tended to increase, while the cattle of the other members of the tribe were perpetually subdivided amongst a number of children, so that no member was likely to possess many head of cattle. Thus the nobles were always a wealthy class, and we find the Irish law tracts recognizing this when they say that "the head of every tribe should be the man of the tribe who is the most experienced, the most noble, the most wealthy, the most learned, the most truly popular, the most powerful to oppose, the most steadfast to sue for profits and be sued for losses." As in early days, when population was scanty, there was no scarcity of land, cattle were much more valuable than land ; and when the cattle of a tribe failed, through disease or bad seasons, the temptation to help themselves to the cattle of their neighbors was very strong. We find many of the early wars in all countries originating in cattle raids, and the finest epic in ancient Ireland is the story of a raid for a red bull. (See section 20.)

15. Criminal law. The criminal law of the Brehons dealt with injuries to property and person, and one of its most characteristic provisions was that injuries to the person, including wounding and homicide, were punished by exacting fines to be paid in cattle by the tribe to which the offender belonged. The rate of fines for people of various ranks was accurately fixed so that there was a certain "eric," or fine in cattle, for causing the death of a chief; a certain "eric" for causing the death of a chief's son, a freeman, and so on.

Eric.

SUMMARY

The De Dananns were overthrown by a new race, the Milesians, who are supposed to have come from Gaul or Spain about 1000 B. C., and who were the fourth and last race to invade Ireland. They found a picturesque land of mountain and plain, thickly wooded, with some pastures, and great tracts of marsh. Numerous lakes and rivers provided a large supply of fish, while a great variety of animals and birds lived in the forests. The earliest inhabitants lived in caves, but later, houses were built of oak and surrounded by earthworks called "raths." Each of the early races carried the art of metal-work to a higher degree than the last. The Milesians introduced agriculture.

The early Irish state was founded and governed under the Brehon Laws. The underlying principle was the unity of the family, of which the father was the patriarchal head. Out of the family, regarded thus as a small state, grew the tribe. The heads of the tribes, owing to their superior wealth, gradually came to form a class apart, a hereditary nobility. The "Rig" or king was simply the chief of a powerful family or group of families. All wealth was estimated in cattle. Under the rules of the Brehon criminal law, fines were paid in so many head of cattle, according to the rank of the injured party. Thus the Brehon Laws had to do with the regulation of the duties of the chief and other members of the tribe; with the division of property; and with the fixing of fines.

CHAPTER III

LEGENDARY STORY OF EMAIN OF MACA

TRADITIONAL DATES, B. C. 450–A. D. 50

16. The building of Emain. Twenty-three hundred years ago, Queen Maca built the great fort and palace of Emain, destined to be for six hundred years the dwelling-place of the Ulster kings. Emain is close to where Armagh was later built, at Ard Maca, the "hill of Maca," a name which preserves even to-day the memory of the queen-foundress of Emain. At this great centre of the northern tribes was enacted, some four centuries after the death of Maca, and therefore about the beginning of our era, a drama of passion which has lived ever since in the epic traditions of Ireland. It is the story of Concobar the king, of Cuculaind the champion and warrior, of the beautiful and hapless Deirdré, of the ill-fated sons of Usnac.

17. Concobar becomes chief of Emain. The beginnings of the tragedy happened thus: Fergus and Factna were joint rulers at Emain. Factna, husband of the beautiful Nessa, died while their son Concobar was yet a child. Nessa, left desolate, was yet so beautiful that Fergus sued for her hand. He finally persuaded her to marry him, but on this condition: her son Concobar was to succeed to the throne, even though sons might be born to Fergus. Fergus agreed, and even allowed Concobar to share his power, with the result that Fergus presently found himself thrust aside, while

Fergus displaced.

his stepson became the real ruler of Emain and the men of Ulster. To Concobar were brought all the tributes of cattle and horses, scarlet cloaks and dyed fabrics, and in everything the word of Concobar was law. Fergus was lord only of the banqueting-hall, and of the merry-makings of the young chiefs.

Escapes to Scotland.

18. The story of Deirdré. A maiden more beautiful than all others, Deirdré by name, with golden hair and blue eyes, had come into the power of Concobar, and was kept by him a close prisoner. Deirdré once saw a raven on the snow, sipping the blood of an animal that had been slain. She watched the raven, and told her waiting-woman that her heart desired a lover whose hair should be dark as the raven's wing, and his skin red and white, like the blood on the snow. Soon after this, seeing Naisi, one of the three sons of Usnac, Deirdré fell in love with him, and persuaded him to take her away from Emain, and from Concobar's power. Naisi at last consented, and with his two brothers and certain faithful followers he carried Deirdré away from the fort of Emain, and passing quickly through the lands of Concobar came to the seashore, and took boat across the narrow sea that divides Ulster from the long headlands of Scotland.

Captured by treachery.

Once when they were playing chess within their shelter of branches, they heard a call sounding to them, up from the water-edge. Deirdré felt that it was a note of doom. But Naisi, recognizing the voice, went out to meet the newcomers, who were Fergus, the king's stepfather, and his two sons, with their companions. Fergus had been sent by Concobar, with a purpose of treachery, known only to the king himself; for Concobar had pledged his word to Fergus that he would harm neither Deirdré nor Naisi, but that he needed the help of the sons of Usnac in war, and therefore sought their return. Naisi and his brothers were willing to go back to Emain, but on their return the sons of Usnac were slain, and Deirdré fell once more into Concobar's power.

19. **The revolt of Fergus.** When Fergus heard how the king, who had already usurped his throne, had now broken faith with him, he was furious, and endeavored to arouse the people to revolt. The warriors of Ulster were immediately divided into two hostile camps, one under Fergus, the other under Concobar. With Concobar stood his cousin Cuculaind, the greatest warrior of Emain. Fergus soon understood that, with the small force at his command, he could not hope for victory, so he sought help from Medb, queen-consort of Ailill, king of Connaught, whither he went with his two thousand Ulster adherents. Medb was a warlike and domineering woman, who took part in all affairs of state, and even went so far as to lead her own armies to battle. She had long been the enemy of Concobar, therefore she gladly welcomed the exiled Fergus, and honored him by making him her chief general. During several years, many expeditions were led by Fergus against Concobar, with varying success, until the famous "War of the Bull."

Fergus seeks Medb's aid.

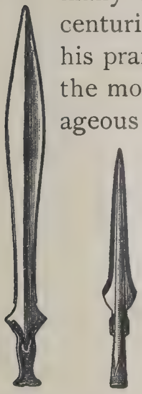
20. **The War of the Bull.** It happened that one day Medb and Ailill fell to disputing as to whose wealth was greatest. They matched their possessions, beginning with lands, and going on through jewels, robes, and cattle. The riches of both were equal, until Ailill spoke of the white bull in his herd, which had no peer in the herds of the queen. Medb sent to seek the red bull of Dairé, in the territory of Ulster. A dispute arose over the sending of the bull, and Medb ordered it to be taken by armed force. In the van of her

Its cause.

army were Fergus and his followers. Concobar's army was not quite ready to meet the invaders, so Cuculaind was sent with a small force to detain the host of Connaught at the frontier of Ulster, formed by the river Dee.

Cuculaind.

Cuculaind, whose true name was Setanta, the son of Sualtam, and cousin of Concobar, was the greatest of the many heroes of that heroic age. For centuries after his death the bards sang his praises as the most skilful and valiant warrior, the most perfect and virtuous hero, the most courageous and magnanimous figure of his time.



ANCIENT IRISH SWORD AND SPEAR HEAD

The rivet holes for the handle of the sword can be seen. The sword is 22 in. long and the spear head 15 in. long

Cuculaind holds the ford.

With a handful of men, Cuculaind held the ford on the river Dee against Medb's advancing army. In the rules of war and chivalry of those days no army could advance so long as a champion of the opposite side offered single combat. He must be met by one antagonist at a time until he was overthrown. Then the attacking host might pass. Thus Cuculaind held the ford for many days, waging valiant combat against Medb's champions, while the men of Ulster were assembling.

21. The fight between Cuculaind and Ferdiad. Finally, through repeated taunts, Queen Medb forced the mighty Ferdiad, the greatest hero of the southern provinces and an old friend of Cuculaind's, to go forth as her champion. For three days the two friends fought: "So fierce was the fight they fought that they cast the river out of its bed, so that not a drop of water lay there unless from the sweat of the champion heroes hewing each other in the midst of the ford. So fierce was the fight they fought that the horses of the Gael fled away in fright, breaking their chains and their yokes, and the women and youths and camp-followers broke from the camp, flying forth southwards and westwards."

Ferdiad is killed.

They were fighting with the edges of their swords, and Ferdiad, finding a break in the guard of Cuculaind, gave him a stroke of the straight-edged sword, burying it in his body until the blood fell into his girdle, and the ford was red with the blood of the hero's body. Afterwards Cuculaind thrust an unerring spear over the rim of the shield, and through the breast of Ferdiad's armor, so that the point of the spear pierced his heart and showed through his body.

Battle of Gairec.

22. **Concobar arrives with his army.** Thus did Cuculaind keep the ford, which is still known as the ford of Ferdiad, at Ardee, in the green plain of Louth. Meanwhile Concobar had assembled his army, and now arrived just in time to check the enemy. Medb's army fled southward and westward, pursued by the men of Ulster, until they came to Gairec. There a battle was fought, which was hardly less fatal to the victors than to the vanquished. For though the hosts of Medb were routed, yet Concobar's men could not continue the pursuit.

23. **Concobar plans an invasion.** Concobar was now determined to invade the southern provinces, and punish their chiefs for the attack on his territories. He held a council of war at the fort of Cuculaind, and laid his plans. Meanwhile, Medb, Ailill, and Fergus were gathering their hosts at Cruacan, the capital of Connaught. It was decided to treat with Concobar, and terms were offered him whereby he should be duly repaid for all his losses during the past invasion, and the red bull should be

returned. But Concobar refused to negotiate, and swore that he would accept no terms until his tent had been pitched in every province of Erin.

The battle.

At the Headland of the Kings, close to the ancient De Danann pyramids of Brugh on the Boyne, the battle was fought. The allies were greatly superior in number to the army of Concobar, but owing to the mighty strength and wonderful deeds of Cuculaind, the sons of Ulster prevailed.

24. Death of Cuculaind. But Emain of Maca was destined also to lose its mightiest warrior. In a later battle with the armies of Medb, Cuculaind received a mortal wound, a spear piercing him through the body. Cuculaind, drawing the spear from his wound, painfully and slowly struggled toward a little lake close to the battlefield for a drink of water. A stone stood there, a pillar set up in honor of some warrior of old, slain in battle with his face toward the foe. Cuculaind, seeing the pillar, and for a moment revived by the cool water of the lake, though looking death in the face, resolved to pass on undaunted into the darkness. Therefore he bound his belt around the pillar of stone, and passed it under his arms, and thus met death, standing firm upon his feet. It is said that a gray crow alighted on the top of the pillar, above the helmet of the hero, and that an otter lapped his blood, as it trickled from his wound, and that the armies of Medb, knowing of his mortal wound, yet seeing him standing there by the pillar, were terrified, believing him an immortal. Stricken with dread, they turned back from the battle, and thus, in his death, the hero defended the territory he had so well guarded in his life.

SUMMARY

The early history of Ireland is largely legendary, but there is reason to believe that about the beginning of our era Concobar became chief of the men of Ulster, and ruled at Emain. For many years he waged wars against Medb, Queen of Connaught, in which he was successful, owing to the valor of Cuculaind, the most heroic figure in early Irish history. The best known of these contests was "The War of the Bull," in which Cuculaind held the ford against Ferdiad.

CHAPTER IV

POLITICAL GROWTH

A. D. 50–A. D. 266

25. Insurrection of the serfs. During the long tribal conflicts, many prisoners were taken in battle, and others were captured as the spoil of raids in the territory of the enemy. These prisoners were kept as serfs, and had to till the land, while the free warriors and their chiefs spent their time in hunting or military games, when not actually fighting. Some of these serfs, who were warriors captured in battle, succeeded in escaping, either to Britain or to Gaul, where many of them entered the armies of the Romans. With the serfs, the poorer and less fortunate of the tribesmen gradually came to make common cause.

Who the serfs were.

The years after Concobar were marked by a series of uprisings of the serfs in different parts of Ireland; and about the middle of the first century a successful revolt was led by Cairpré, the "Cat-headed," who invited many of the chiefs and nobles to a banquet, and slaughtered them. Cairpré even succeeded in gaining kingly power, and the servile class held a dominant position for the greater part of the eighty years ending 130 A. D.; in that year, after a series of fiercely fought battles, the old line of kings once more came into power, their authority being restored by Tuatal the Legitimate, of the direct line of the Sons of Milid.

Cairpré the "Cat-headed."

A. D. 50-130.

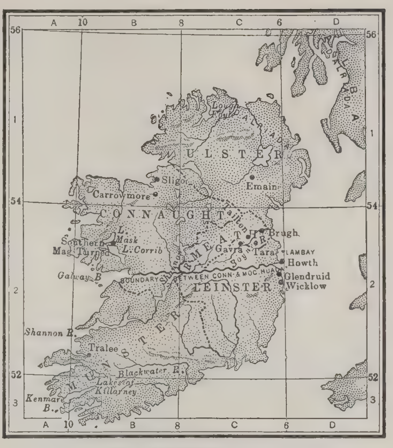
26. The formation of Meath. Tuatal's reign marks an epoch in another way. Ireland had come to be divided into four kingdoms, later called Ulster, Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, each of which had its provincial king. There was also the central fort at Tara, in which the most powerful chieftain in Ireland reigned as High King or Overlord of the whole country. Until the reign of Tuatal, the High Kings, reigning at Tara, had enjoyed the revenues of only a small neighboring district. Tuatal greatly enlarged this district, cutting off a piece from each of the four kingdoms, and forming the pieces into the Mid-Kingdom, "Mide" or Meath, which now became the domain of the High King.

Tara.

27. The Boruma tribute. The name of Tuatal is connected with another famous incident in Ireland's early history: the imposing of the Boruma tribute on the kings of Leinster. Its origin was this: the king of Leinster sought and obtained in marriage the hand of Tuatal's daughter, but soon after his return home she ceased to please him, and he finally discarded her, keeping her captive in a lonely part of his moated fortress. Some time after this, the king of Leinster, coming to Tara, told Tuatal that his queen had been carried off by death, and sought in marriage the hand of another daughter of the High King. Tuatal gave his second daughter to the king of Leinster, who brought her home to his fortress. By an accident of fate the two sisters met, and both were so horror-struck at the treachery that had been practised towards them that they died of grief. To punish this perfidy, the High King imposed the Boruma tribute on Leinster, which was to be paid yearly in cattle, sheep, hogs, mantles, bronze cauldrons, and silver. This tribute was levied for five hundred years, and the difficulty of collect-

Its origin.

ing it was the cause of many battles. After a period of strife following the death of Tuatal, his son Fedlimid gained the throne.



PAGAN IRELAND

28. Final restoration of the old line of kings. With the accession of Fedlimid, the legislator, the race of Milid finally became the dominant power, and so remained for centuries. Conn, son of Fedlimid, was the most famous warrior of his day, being surnamed "of the Hundred Battles," in honor of a hundred battles which he was believed to have fought. Conn's most formidable antagonist was Mog-Nuadat. These two warriors practically divided Ireland between them, Conn holding the northern half of the island, while the south remained in the power of Mog-Nuadat. The line of division ran from Dublin to Galway, and was in part marked by a line of sand-hills.

Conn divides Ireland with Mog-Nuadat.

Conn was treacherously slain at Tara, in the year 212 A. D., while he was preparing to celebrate the Feis of Tara, the great festival that was celebrated every third year. Conn is said to have been killed in his hundredth year. His grandson, Riada, began the conquest of the northern part of the neighboring island of Britain, which was then called Alba.

Death of Conn.

Riada.

It must be remembered that, though surrounded by the sea, Ireland was by no means cut off from neighboring lands. Ships of considerable size constantly passed from Ireland to the Western Isles and coasts of Alba. There was also considerable commerce between Ireland and Gaul, whose inhabitants had, even two thousand years ago, ocean-going ships which filled Cæsar and the Romans with admiration.

Commerce.

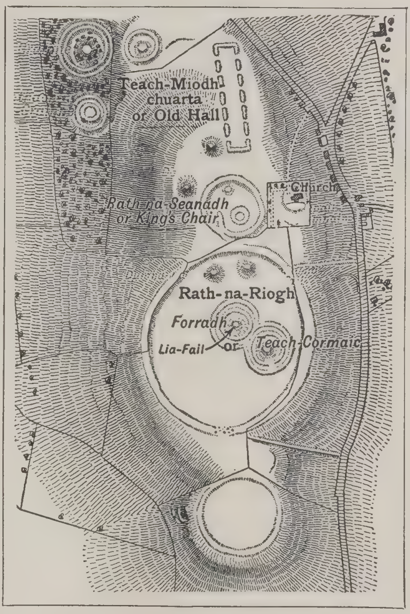
29. Foundation of the colonial Dalriada. Alba was at that time inhabited by a tribe akin to the Milesians, who had spent some time in Ireland on their way northward. They were called Picts by the Romans, from the Latin word *pictus*, meaning "painted." Riada, grandson of Conn of the Hundred Battles, was chieftain of a district in Antrim called from him Dalriada, or the "portion of Riada." From the hilltops of his home, Riada could easily see the neighboring coast of Alba, across the narrow intervening sea. The prospect charmed him so much that he finally sailed across the shallow strait and founded a second Dalriada in Alba.

The Scoti or Scots.

One of the tribes of the Milesian-Irish had long borne the name of Scoti or Scots, from Scota, the wife of Milid, and from them Ireland was sometimes called Scotia. When the Irish Scoti crossed the strait to Alba, they carried the name Scotia with them, Alba being then called Scotia the Lesser, and, later, Scotland. The Scoti from Ireland brought with them to Alba their civilization and the Gaelic language. This Irish Gaelic is still spoken in the highlands of Scotland and in the Western Isles, and nearly all the names of families and places in Scotland are in this language. In comparatively recent times, in fact until two or three centuries ago, the Gaelic of Scotland was still called Irish. On the other hand, the tribesmen of Ireland were called Scots until the seventeenth century. All the clan names of Scotland beginning with Mac, meaning "son of," as well as the word *clan* itself, belong to the language which Ireland gave to Scotland.

30. King Cormac, son of Art. The most cultured period of pagan Ireland is ushered in by Cormac, son of Art, son of Conn of the Hundred Battles. Cormac became king in 254 A. D., and is famous as a warrior, and even more as a lawyer and a sage. Cormac is the ideal king, manly and handsome, mirthful and wise: "Beautiful was the appearance of Cormac in the assembly," says an ancient manuscript; "flowing, slightly curling golden hair upon him; a red buckler with stars and animals of gold and fastening of silver upon him; a crimson cloak in wide descending folds upon him, fastened at his breast by a golden brooch set with precious stones; a neck-torque of gold round his neck; a white shirt with a full collar, and intertwined with red gold thread upon him; a girdle of gold inlaid with precious stones around him; two wonderful shoes of gold with embroidery of gold upon him; two spears with

Warrior and sage.


Teach-Miodh-chuarta or Old Hall
Church
Rath-na-Seanadh or King's Chair
Rath-na-Riogh
Forradh
Lia-Fail
or
Teach Cormaic

PLAN OF TARA

golden sockets in his hand." Hardly less celebrated is his son-in-law, Find, son of Cumal, and father of Ossin, the poet. Find was the leader of Cormac's standing army, called the "Fians" or "Fenians."

31. The court of Tara. We can trace the outlines of Cormac's court at Tara even now. The central part is the Rath-na-Riogh, "the Fort of the King," a vast oval earthwork about three hundred yards in diameter, surrounded by a moat. Inside "the Fort of the King" are two great mounds, one, the Forradh, or place of meeting, where stands the Lia Fail, "the Stone of Destiny," on which for ages the kings of Ireland were crowned. Beside the Forradh is the Teach-Cormaic, "the House of Cormac," a circular earthwork about fifty yards across, where the great king dwelt. To the north of "the Fort of the King," and beyond the rath called "the King's Chair," is the Teach-Miodh-Chuarta, "the House of Mead," from the drink made of honey, or "mead," which was handed round in goblets to the chiefs. The position of the House of Mead is marked by the foundations of earth which are clearly visible, and on which the walls of oak were built. These foundations show that the hall was two hundred and fifty yards long and thirty yards wide, with six doors on each side, and in it hundreds of chiefs could easily have gathered to a banquet. There are many other earthworks, not far from "the Fort of the King," which still bear the names of kings, princes, and princesses of Ireland, whose dwellings of oak formerly stood within them.

32. Abdication of Cormac. At the court of Tara, in the House of Cormac and the House of Mead, the king listened to the stories of Find and the songs of Ossin; there the harpers played and sang their traditional melodies; there the Brehon men-of-law gave judgments. Tra-

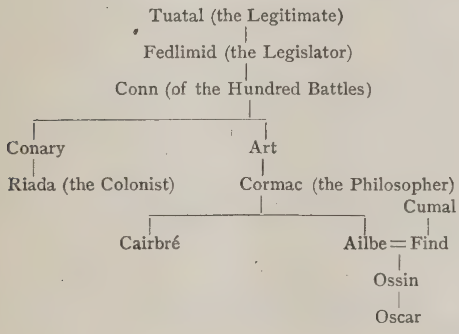
Cormac as a lawgiver.

dition says that in the year 266 A. D. Cormac was wounded in the eye, and as it was the law that no one who had any personal defect could rule within the sacred inclosure of Tara, he was compelled to abdicate. He built for himself a dwelling on the Hill of Skreen, where he delivered many legal judgments which are recorded in the Book of Aicill so called, from Aicill, the old name of the Hill of Skreen. There also he carried on the dialogues with his son which record his wisdom.

SUMMARY

In the century after Concobar, there were several insurrections of the serfs. They dominated the country from A. D. 50 to A. D. 130. The direct line of the Sons of Milid was restored by Tuatal. In his reign, the central kingdom of Meath was formed, and the Boruma tribute was imposed on Leinster. Tuatal was succeeded by his son, Fedlimid, and his grandson, Conn of the Hundred Battles. The colony of Dalriada was founded in Alba, now Scotland, by Riada, grandson of Conn. The name of Scotland was given to this colony by the Irish tribe of Scoti, or Scots. King Cormac, another grandson of Conn, held his rich court at Tara.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE



CHAPTER V

KING CORMAC AND OSSIN

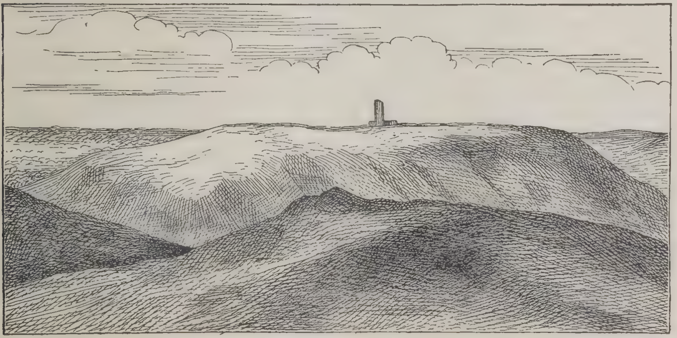
254–293

33. Social life in the third century. The five kingdoms, Ulster, Leinster, Connaught, Munster, and Meath, were now clearly defined, with Meath in the centre, predominant over all, and virtually ruling the others from the Hill of Tara. The code of honor was fixed; justice was equally measured to all; social life had ripened; the warriors were gathered into something like a regular and disciplined army, and so were a check on the power of the king. Classes existed, from the great chief, or king, down through the lesser chiefs, or nobles, to the serf who was attached to the land. Tribute was paid in the products of the land, or of the arts. Embroideries and tapestries of great beauty were made by the ladies of the chiefs' families and their waiting-women. To women of all classes great freedom and respect were accorded during this period.

34. The warrior-poet Find, son of Cumal. Find, the warrior, father of Ossin, was himself a poet. In a few verses of his, handed down to our times, he has left us a picture of spring, which shows that, even in those remote days, the people of Ireland keenly felt the beauties of their native land: —

"May-day! Delightful time! How beautiful the color! The blackbirds sing their full lay. Would that Laigay were here! The cuckoos call in constant strains. How welcome is ever the noble brightness of the season! On the margin of the leafy pools, the summer swallows skim the stream. Swift horses seek the pools. The heath spreads out its long hair. The white, gentle cotton-grass grows. The sea is lulled to rest. Flowers cover the earth."

35. A poem of Ossin. A wonderfully vivid picture of the outdoor life, the gatherings, the sports of this period, is preserved in one of the few poems of Ossin which have been handed down to us from that remote time. The poem begins thus: —



THE HILL OF TARA

The mound called the Forradh is here shown according to the drawing by Wakeman

"Six thousand gallant men of war
We sought the rath o'er Badamar;
To the king's palace-home we bent
Our way. His bidden guests we went.
'T was Clocar fair,
And Find was there,
The Fians from the hills around
Had gathered to the race-course ground.
From valley deep and wooded glen
Fair Munster sent its mighty men."

After several races had been run, the king presented

Find, chief of the army, and father of Ossin, the poet, with a coal-black steed, addressing him thus : —

"Hero! take the swift black steed,
Of thy valor fitting meed;
And my car, in battle-raid
Gazed on by the foe with fear;
And a seemly steed for thy charioteer.
Chieftain, be this good sword thine,
Purchased with a hundred kine,
In thy hand be it our aid."

Find tried his new horse, taking it first to the broad strand of Tralee. Later, accompanied by Ossin and Cailté, Find's adopted son, he rode south toward the lakes of Killarney, where, about nightfall, they saw a mysterious house that none of them could remember ever to have seen before. They entered, nevertheless, only to find, as Ossin tells us, an ogre and a witch, surrounded by horrors, when

"From iron benches on the right
Nine headless bodies rose to sight,
And on the left, from grim repose,
Nine heads that had no bodies rose."

Ossin then tells how, overcome by all these terrors, he and Find, his father, and Cailté fell at last into a deathlike trance, and slept till the sunlight woke them lying on the heathery hillside, the house utterly vanished away.

36. King Cormac's precepts. Another side of the life of pagan Ireland in this richest period is shown in the dialogue between Cormac, son of Art, son of Conn of the Hundred Battles, and Cairbré his son : —

"O grandson of Conn, O Cormac," Cairbré asked him, "What is good for a king?"

"This is plain," answered Cormac. "It is good for him to have patience, and not to dispute, self-government without anger, affability without haughtiness, diligent attention to history, strict observance of covenants and agreements, justice tempered by mercy, in execution of the laws. It is good for him to make the land fertile, to invite ships, to import jewels of price from across the sea, to purchase and distribute raiment, to keep vigorous swordsmen who may protect his territory, to make war beyond his territory, to attend to the sick, to maintain discipline among his soldiers. Let him enforce fear, let him perfect peace, let him give mead and wine, let him pronounce just judgments of light, let him speak all truth, for it is through the truth of a king that God gives favorable seasons."

Duties of a king.

"O grandson of Conn, O Cormac," Cairbré again asked him, "what is good for the welfare of a country?"

"This is plain," answered Cormac. "Frequent assemblies of wise and good men, to investigate its affairs, to abolish every evil and retain every wholesome institution, to attend to the precepts of the seniors; let every assembly be convened according to the law, let the law be in the hands of the noblest, let the chieftains be upright and unwilling to oppress the poor."

Needs of a country.

"O grandson of Conn, O Cormac," again asked Cairbré, "what are the duties of a prince in the banqueting-hall?"

"A prince, on the Day of Spirits, should light his lamps, and welcome his guests with clapping of hands, offering comfortable seats; the cup-bearers should be active in distributing meat and drink. Let there be moderation of music, short stories, a welcoming countenance, a greeting for the learned, pleasant

Duties of a royal host.

conversation. These are the duties of a prince in the banqueting-house."

"O grandson of Conn, O Cormac, what is good for me?"

Advice to a young man.

"If thou attend to my command, thou wilt not scorn the old, though thou art young; nor the poor, though thou art well-clad; nor the lame, though thou art swift; nor the blind, though thou seest; nor the weak, though thou art strong; nor the ignorant, though thou art wise. Be not slothful, be not passionate, be not greedy, be not idle, be not jealous; for he who is so is hateful to God and man."

37. Political development. The story of these first centuries illustrates the whole of early Irish history. There is a strong central family which holds the High Kingship for generation after generation. Its rule, however, is not uninterrupted. The High King is attacked again and again by other chiefs almost as powerful as himself, and is not always successful in defending himself. He is slain in battle, his followers are routed, and power passes to another family. The son, or perhaps the grandson, of the late High King reorganizes his forces in some remote fortress; the boys of his tribe grow up and become warriors, until with renewed strength he attacks his father's slayer and overthrows him. The family from which sprang Conn of the Hundred Battles in this way dominated the first three centuries in our era, though its rule was interrupted by two insurrections of serfs and by the reigns of several rival chieftains. Its influence was eclipsed by the military uprising which culminated at the battle of Gavra.

38. The battle of Gavra, A. D. 293. This battle was fought in the year 293 A. D. The power of the armed militia, which had been consolidated into something like a regular army by Find, and to which the name of Fians or Fenians was given, had gradually grown hostile toward the High King, and a final struggle to the death became inevitable. This was the battle of Gavra, fought close to the Hill of Skreen, near Tara. The conflict was long and fierce, and in it fell Cairbré, the High King, and also the chiefs of the Fenians, thus closing one of the brightest epochs of Irish history by the death of its most famous men.

End of Cormac's family.

39. Rise of the family of Niall. Three chieftains of other tribes successively held the power after this battle, their rule covering several years. Then another great family began to come to the fore. Its first representative was Fiaca, who held the High Kingship for thirty years. He was succeeded after four years by his son, Muireadac, who reigned for a like period, and was followed not by his son, but by one of the Ulster chiefs. The latter had only a brief interval of power, being overthrown by Eocaid, the son of Muireadac, after a few months. Eocaid retained the High Kingship for eight years, when a chieftain of another family seized the supreme power and held it for fourteen years. Then the High Kingship reverted once more to the family of Muireadac and Eocaid, in the person of the latter's son, the famous warrior known as Niall of the Nine Hostages, because he received hostages from Ulster, Leinster, Munster, Connaught, Pictland, Dalriada, Britain, Saxonland, and the Morini of Gaul. Niall held the High Kingship for twenty-seven years, and in one of his raids against the Roman colonies in North Britain he is believed to have taken captive the future apostle of Ireland. After Niall, the direct line was again

SPEAR HEAD
7¼ inches long, found in the Shannon at Athlone

Niall.

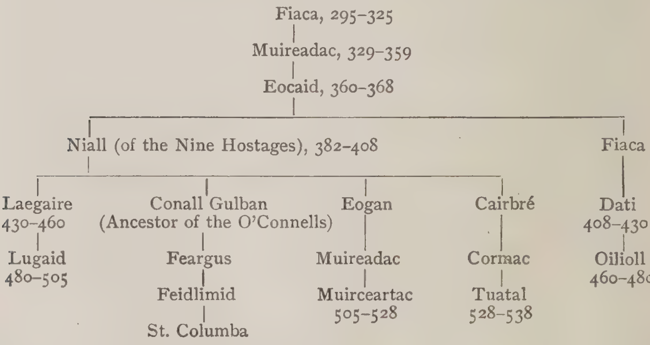
broken, and his nephew, Dati, held the chief power for twenty-three years. He was succeeded by Laegaire, the son of Niall, High King during thirty years. Then Dati's family once more came into power in the person of his son, Oilioll. After twenty years, the family of Niall once more became dominant, Lugaid, the son of Laegaire, holding the High Kingship for a quarter of a century. These events cover the first five hundred years of our era.

SUMMARY

The social life of pre-Christian Ireland was rich and highly developed. Women were highly esteemed. Poetry and music were cultivated, Ossin, or Ossian, being the most famous of the ancient poets. The political ideals are illustrated by the dialogue between Cormac, the High King, and his son, Cairbré. The history of Ireland, at this time, and for centuries to come, is a struggle between various powerful families for the High Kingship of Ireland.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE FAMILY OF NIALL

Reigns of those who became High Kings are shown by dates



CHAPTER VI

INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY

432

40. Saint Patrick. At the end of the fourth century, Ireland was still a pagan land ruled by restless chiefs, whose people had reached a point where a strong humanizing influence was needed. Without this influence, the very perfection of the time would have been a danger, like the ripeness which comes before decay. The renovating power came in the lesson of loving-kindness and tender mercy that had been taught by the shores of Galilee. The messenger was Succat, son of Calpurn, surnamed the Patrician, or Patricius, a title given to Roman citizens of noble birth. This messenger is known to us as Saint Patrick. In all probability his birthplace was in Scotland, near the river Clyde, the northern limit of the Roman province of Britain. The territory north of the Clyde was held in part by the Caledonian Picts, and in part by the Scoti, colonists from Ireland, who brought with them their civilization and language.

Birth.

In one of the feuds among these rival tribes, a raid was made into the territory of the Roman province south of the Clyde, and the boy Succat was taken prisoner and carried away captive to Ireland. The language of the Roman province was Latin, and the Christian religion had been brought thither from Rome. In the church of the Roman colony both the father and grandfather of Succat had held official rank, but

Training.

Succat himself, though familiar with the teaching of the Gospel, had not taken that teaching greatly to heart. It came back to him, however, in the days of his captivity, when as a slave he tended cattle among the woods of Slieve Mish, a mountain in what is now Antrim, halfway between Lough Neagh and the sea. From the hillside of Slieve Mish, the exile could see the blue headlands of his native Scotland, and it is easy to believe that the teachings of his childhood came back to him with double force, as he gazed wistfully over the sea toward his early home. The story of Saint Patrick's mission can best be told by quoting his own words as written in the long letter called the "Confession," and preserved in the "Book of Armagh," the manuscript of which was written in 807 A. D.

Captivity.

41. The "Confession." "I, Patricius, a sinner, and most unlearned of believers, looked down upon by many, had for my father the deacon Calpurn, son of the elder Potitus, of a place called Bannova in Tabernia, near to which was his country home. There I was taken captive, when not quite sixteen. I knew not the Eternal. Being led into captivity with thousands of others, I was brought to Ireland — a fate well deserved. For we had turned from the Eternal, nor kept the laws of the Eternal. . . .

Patrick taken captive to Ireland.

"But daily herding cattle here, and lifting up my heart in aspiration many times a day, the fear of the Eternal grew daily in me. A divine awe and aspiration grew in me, so that I often prayed a hundred times a day, and as many times in the night. I often remained in the woods and on the hills, rising to pray while it was yet dark, in snow or frost or rain; yet I took no harm. The breath of the Divine burned within me, so that nothing remained in me unenkindled. . . .

His life in captivity.

"One night, while I was sleeping, I heard a voice saying to me: 'You have fasted well, and soon you shall see your home and your native land.' Soon after, I heard the voice again saying: 'The ship is ready for you.' Yet the ship was not near, but two hundred miles off, in a district I had never visited, and where I knew no one. Therefore I fled, leaving the master I had served for six years, and found the ship by divine guidance, going without fear. . . .

His return home when twenty-two years old.

"We reached land after three days' sail; then, for twenty-eight days we wandered through a wilderness. . . . Once more, after years of exile, I was at home again with my kindred among the Britons. All welcomed me like a son, earnestly begging me that, after the great dangers I had passed through, I would never again leave my home.

"While I was at home, in a vision of the night I saw one who seemed to come from Ireland, bringing innumerable letters. He gave me one of the letters, in which I read: 'The voices of the Irish.' . . . and while I read, it seemed to me that I heard the cry of the dwellers by the forest of Foclut, by the Western ocean, calling with one voice to me: 'Come and dwell with us!' My heart was so moved that I awoke, and I give thanks to my God who, after many years, has given to them according to their petition. . . .

The vision.

"It were long, in whole or even in part, to tell of my labors, or how the All-powerful One many times set me free from bondage, and from twelve perils, wherein my life was in danger, and from nameless pitfalls. It were ill to try my reader too far, when I have within me the Author himself, who knows all things even before they happen, as He knows me, his poor disciple. The voice that so often guides me is

His mission.

divine; and thence it is that wisdom has come to me, who had no wisdom, knowing not Him, nor the number of my days: thence come my knowledge, and heart's joy, in his great and healing gift, for the sake of which I willingly left my home and kindred, though they offered me many gifts, with tears and sorrow.

His converts.

"The people of Ireland, who formerly had only their idols and pagan ritual, not knowing the Master, have now become his children; the sons of the Scoti and their kings' daughter are now become sons of the Master and handmaidens of the Anointed.

"Therefore I might even leave them, to go among the Britons — for willingly would I see my own kindred and my native land again, or even go so far as Gaul, to visit my brothers, and see the faces of my Master's holy men. But I am bound in the Spirit, and would be unfaithful if I went. Nor would I willingly risk the fruit of all my work. Yet it is not I who decide, but the Master, who bid me come hither, to spend my whole life in serving, as indeed I think I shall. . . .

"Thus simply, brothers and fellow-workers for the Master, who with me have believed, I have told you how it happened that I preached and still preach, to strengthen and confirm you in aspiration, hoping that we may all rise yet higher. Let that be my reward, as 'the wise son is the glory of his father.' You know, and the Master knows, how from my youth I have lived among you, in aspiration and truth, and with single heart; that I have declared the faith to those among whom I dwell, and still declare it. The Master knows that I have deceived no man in anything, nor ever shall, for his sake, and his people's. Nor shall I ever arouse uncharity in them or in any, lest his name should be spoken evil of. . . .

"I have striven in my poor way to help my brothers, and the handmaidens of the Anointed, and the holy women, who often volunteered to give me presents, and to lay their jewels on the altar; but these I always gave back to them, even though they were hurt by it.

Patrick's generosity.

"If I have asked of any as much as the value of a shoe, tell me. I will repay it and more. I rather spent my own wealth on you and among you, wherever I went, for your sakes, through many dangers, to regions where no believer had ever come to baptize, to ordain teachers, or to confirm the flock. With the divine help, I very willingly and lovingly paid all. Sometimes I gave presents to the kings, — in giving presents to their sons who convoyed us, to guard us against being taken captive. Once they sought to kill me, but my time was not yet come. But they took away all that we possessed, and kept me bound till the Master liberated me on the fourteenth day, and all our goods were given back, because of the Master and of those who convoyed us. You yourselves know what gifts I gave to those who administer the law, through the districts I visited oftenest. I think I spent not less than the fine of fifteen men among them, in order that I might come among you.

"The sun of this world shall fade, with those that worship it; but we bow to the spiritual Sun, the Anointed, that shall never perish, nor they that do his will, that shall endure for ever, like the Anointed Himself, who reigns with the Father and the Divine Spirit, now and ever. . . .

"This I beg, that no believer or servant of the Master, who reads or receives this writing, which I, Patricius, a sinner, and very unlearned, wrote in Ireland, — I beg that none may say that whatever is good in it was dictated by my ignorance, but rather that it came from Him. This is my Confession before I die."

The Mission from Pope Celestine.

The date of St. Patrick's mission is fixed in a striking way by the contemporary Chronicle of Prosper of Aquitaine. Under the year 431 Prosper writes: "For the Irish believing in Christ, Palladius is consecrated by Pope Celestine, and sent as first bishop." Elsewhere he writes: "[Pope Celestine] having consecrated a bishop for the Irish, while he strove to keep the Roman island [Britain] Catholic, made the pagan island [Ireland] also Christian."

The Irish records are summarized in the Annals of the Four Masters, which tells us that the brief mission of Palladius bore small fruit; that, in the year 431, "St. Patrick was ordained bishop by the holy Pope, Celestine the First, who ordered him to go to Ireland, to preach and teach faith and piety to the Gael, and also to baptize them." The Four Masters go on to tell us that in the following year, 432, "Patrick came to Ireland, and proceeded to baptize and bless the Irish, men, women, sons and daughters, except a few who did not consent to receive faith or baptism from him, as his Life relates."

SUMMARY

By the end of the fourth century, pagan Ireland had reached a high stage of development, but the people needed the humanizing influence which Saint Patrick brought to them in his teaching of Christianity. Patrick was born in North Britain, of noble parentage. While a boy, he was brought as a captive to Ireland, where he remained as a herdsman for six years. When he returned to his native land, he learned in a vision that he was destined to convert Ireland. He began his missionary work about 432 A. D., and built churches and established schools in many parts of Ireland.

CHAPTER VII

FULFILMENT OF PATRICK'S MISSION

432–525

42. Difficulties of conversion. In the Apostle's own words the story of his coming is simply told. But while the conversion of the Irish people was, in one sense, a simple task, because of their spiritual freedom and openness to new influences, — in other words, their large-mindedness, — it was by no means altogether easy. It must never be forgotten that the rival chiefs, each in his own stronghold, were perpetually fighting among themselves, so that a considerable escort was needed to insure safe conduct from one province to another. Patrick was conducted from district to district by the kings' sons, and in return gave presents for their protection.

How Patrick overcame these difficulties.

Patrick, with his strong personality and ever-present tact, had just the qualities to meet these obstacles. His manner was that of an ambassador. He addressed himself to the chiefs as an equal, talking to them frankly, and gradually giving them an insight into his character and convictions, his idea of life, of the kinship of soul to soul, and of immortality. His great sincerity awakened a responsive hearing in the hearts of those who talked with him. He had a constant sense of his divine mission : "Was it without divine promise," he asks ; "or in the body only, that I came to Ireland ? Who led me ? Who took captive my soul, that I should no more see friends and kindred? Whence came my inspiration of pity for the race that had enslaved me?"

Ireland converted without a martyr.

Through the chiefs he reached and converted the people. He displayed wonderful knowledge of men and of the world, and showed an ever-ready urbanity and broad-minded wisdom in all his dealings with them. To this attitude is doubtless due the fact that the history of the conversion of Ireland has no instance of martyrdom.

43. Patrick's first church and journey to Tara. He began his apostolic labors, and won his earliest victory, at Downpatrick — "The dwelling of Patrick," — in the district ruled over by a chief who dwelt close to the old royal fort of eastern Ulster. This chief was soon convinced of the sincerity of the newcomer, offering him his barn for a first meeting-place, and later giving him the land where his first church was built in 432. From the word "sabal," "a barn," comes the name of Saul, now borne by this district.

SHRINE OF SAINT PATRICK'S BELL
The shrine was made about 1091 to hold the bell, which is $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches high

He goes to Tara.

The next year, 433, Patrick determined to present himself at Tara, the seat of the High King, where Laegaire, son of Niall, reigned. It was Easter Eve when Patrick approached Tara; toward nightfall he lighted the paschal fire on the Hill of Slane. It happened that King Laegaire and his nobles were lighting the fire of the spring festival at the same hour. There was a law that, while this fire was burning, no other should be kindled, on pain of death. Therefore, when Patrick's fire blazed up on the Hill of Slane, there was great wonder at Tara, and Laegaire summoned the Druids and questioned them, receiving this answer: "If that fire which we now see be not extinguished to-night, it will never be extinguished, but will eclipse all our fires, and he that has kindled it will overturn thy kingdom." The king, in great rage, sent to summon the strangers before him. It is said that Patrick then composed this hymn, the oldest Christian verse in the Gaelic tongue: —

> "At Tara to-day in this fateful hour
> I place all heaven with its power,
> And the sun with its brightness,
> And the snow with its whiteness,
> And the fire with all the strength it hath,
> And the lightning with its rapid wrath,
> And the winds with their swiftness along their path,
> And the sea with its deepness,
> And the rocks with their steepness,
> And the earth with its starkness,
> All these I place
> By God's almighty help and grace
> Between myself and the power of darkness."

Easter Sunday dawned. Patrick and his companions, all in white, and the Apostle wearing his mitre and carrying his crozier, entered the fort in a solemn procession, chanting a hymn. The saint, aflame with zeal, and undaunted by his cold reception, told the story of the Resurrection and the divine message brought thereby to humanity. At King Laegaire's command, the Druids tried to meet him in argument, but were defeated. The king, though not converted himself, gave Patrick and his companions permission to preach their doctrines throughout his dominions.

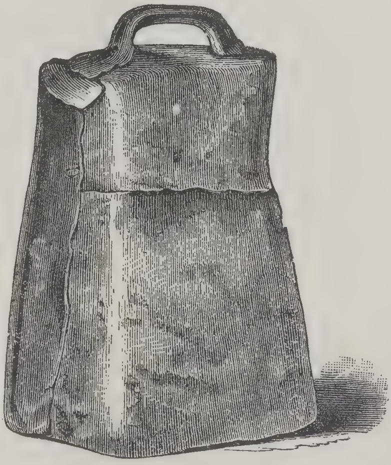
44. Revision of the Brehon Laws, 438. A striking instance of Patrick's method, and an example of his foresight and wisdom, are found in his attitude toward the existing civil and religious law of the country, commonly known as the Brehon Laws. In the words of the Preface to the Sencus Mor, the "Great Book of Ancient Law:" "The judgments of true nature, which the Divine Spirit had spoken through the mouths of the Brehons and just poets of the men of Erin, from the first occupation of Ireland down to the reception of the faith, were all exhibited by Dubtac to Patrick. What did not conflict with the word of God in the written law and the New Testament and the consciences of believers was confirmed in the laws of the Brehons by Patrick and by the ecclesiastics and chieftains of Ireland; for the law of Nature had been quite right except concerning the faith and its obligations and the harmony of the Church and people. And this is the Sencus Mor."

45. The founding of Armagh. The work so prospered during the following years, that in 444 A. D. Patrick was able to build a large church on a hill two miles from the fortress of Emain of Maca. The land was a gift from a ruler who, like so many other chiefs, had felt and acknowledged the Apostle's power. Later, this hill came to be called Armagh. The churches thus founded by Patrick were built of stone, and it is probable that he was the first to introduce the general use of stone for building into Ireland, houses having previously been made of wood, as was natural in a land rich in forests. From this time on, we have a constant succession of stone buildings, while there are none of older date, if we except the pyramid-chambers like those of Brugh on the Boyne.

46. Patrick continues his work of conversion. Patrick continued his journey from province to province, often facing great dangers, but everywhere making converts, and founding churches, schools, and monasteries. One tradition tells us that he journeyed to the west coast. In some places his coming was foretold by the Druids, who still practised soothsaying.

A tragedy in his apostolate.

The great tragedy in Patrick's mission was due to the evil act of a prince of the neighboring island. Coroticus, a chieftain of Britain, and therefore a citizen of Rome and nominally a Christian, had sent marauding bands to Ireland, to capture slaves. Some of the new converts were taken captive by these invaders, an outrage which drew forth an indignant protest from the great Messenger:



BELL OF SAINT PATRICK
This rude little bell has an unbroken history of over 1400 years

"My neophytes in their white robes, the anointing of baptism still wet and glistening on their foreheads, were taken captive with the sword by these murderers. Next day I sent letters, begging them to liberate the baptized captives, but they answered my prayer with mockery and laughter. I know not which I should mourn for more — those who were slain, those who were taken prisoner, or those who, in this, were Satan's instruments, since these must suffer everlasting punishment in perdition."

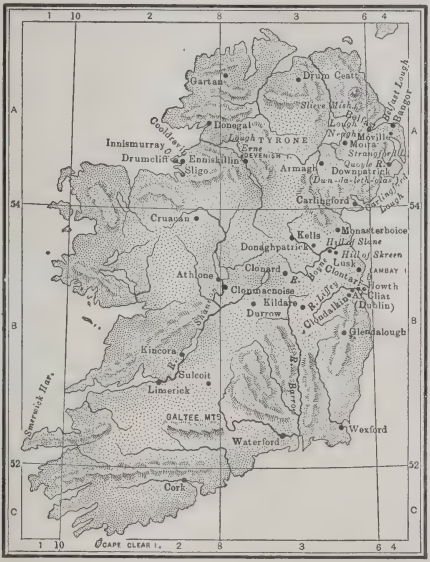
He appealed indignantly to the fellow-Christians of Coroticus in Britain: "I pray you, all that are righteous and humble, to hold no converse with those who do these things, eat not, drink not with them, accept no gifts from them, until they have repented and made atonement, setting free these newly baptized handmaidens of Christ, for whom he died. . . . They seem to think that we are not children of one Father!"

Patrick's death.

The mission of the Messenger lasted for sixty years. He was at no time willing to desert his adopted children and return to his native land, but faithfully carried on his task until it was completed. According to his own wish, he was buried near his first church, at Saul.

Noted for her mercifulness.

47. Saint Bridget. Armagh stands for the work of Patrick the Apostle. The name of Kildare is linked with the fame of a personality hardly less remarkable. A learned writer says: "If Saint Patrick was the father, Saint Bridget is the mother of all the saints of Erin, both monks and nuns." Bridget was born in 453; she was the daughter of a famous Leinster chief. Her whole life is surrounded by stories of marvels. She was miraculously preserved, when a child, from a fire which burned down her father's house. The child had been left in her cot, and was found there uninjured, after the fire had burned itself out. In her, the quality of mercy greatly shone. It is said that once, with seven companions, Bridget heard a sermon on the eight Beatitudes. Each was asked to choose one of the virtues there declared blessed, and Bridget chose mercy: "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy." One of her great works was a ministry of help to the lepers, then as now the most shunned and miserable of outcasts. Far more important, however, than any single side of her work, was the way in which the whole life of this woman of genius and inspiration raised the ideal of womanhood in Ireland. Her influence in that respect lasts to this day, for in no other country is the ideal of womanly purity held so high.



PLACES MENTIONED IN IRISH HISTORY FROM THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY TO 1100

The founding of Kildare.

Saint Bridget founded a religious establishment at Kildare, that is, Cil-dara, "the church of the oak," so named from a great oak-tree which stood close to the site of the church. As men and women studied together at the school of Kildare, Saint Bridget selected Bishop Connall, one of her relatives, to share with her the cares of its government. Saint Bridget died in 525.

SUMMARY

Patrick met with many difficulties in his work of conversion, but the very greatness of the man himself helped him to overcome all obstacles, so that Ireland was won without a martyr. Patrick revised but retained the Brehon Laws.

Patrick returned to Ireland as a missionary in A. D. 432. He built his first church at Saul. From Saul, he went to Tara, where he met the Druids in argument, winning his most notable victory, and making many converts. He founded the church of Armagh, the seat of the primate of Ireland. He continued his journey from province to province, everywhere converting many, and founding churches and schools. Tradition says that his mission lasted sixty years, and that he died in 493.

The womanly side of Irish sainthood is typified in Saint Bridget, the foundress of the celebrated school and convent at Kildare. She was born in A. D. 453 and died in A. D. 525.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SAINTS AND SCHOLARS

500–795

48. Early churches and schools. Saint Patrick and his immediate followers founded many churches, monasteries, and schools. We can judge of the spread of his teaching, if we remember that these churches were generally sixty feet long, thus giving room for many worshippers. One of the most ancient churches in Ireland is in Meath, on the Blackwater, at Donaghpatrick, a name meaning "the church of Patrick." It was founded by the apostle on land given him by King Laegaire and was erected by the order of the king's brother. In the century following, religious buildings were constructed in many parts of Ireland, a number of which have been more or less perfectly preserved to the present day. One of the oldest was the school founded at Mo-

Donaghpatrick.

Monasterboice.

HIGH CROSS OF MONASTERBOICE

This cross, called the smaller cross of Monasterboice, was erected in memory of Abbot Muireadac, who died in the tenth century. It is one of the finest crosses in Ireland, and is still standing.

nasterboice in Louth, by Saint Buite, who died, tradition says, on the day on which Columba was born, about 521.

Devenish.

An early and very perfect group of religious buildings is to be seen on an island on lower Lough Erne, about two miles north of Enniskillen. The island is called Devenish, "the island of the oxen." The first religious settlement was made there under the guidance of Molaise about the year 530 A. D. Another Molaise founded a similar settlement on Inismurray, "the island of Muireadac," some five miles from the Sligo shore. The house of Molaise, a small building only nine feet by eight, with very thick walls and a high stone roof, still stands exactly as it was in the saint's life.

Inismurray.

Clonmacnoise.

At Clonmacnoise, "the meadow of the sons of Nos," is another very ancient foundation, begun in 548 by Saint Kieran, on ground given by Diarmaid, who was then High King. It is on the bank of the great river Shannon, nine miles below Athlone; and the school which grew up there gained a reputation throughout the whole of western Europe. It became the chief seminary for the sons of the princes and nobles of Connaught.

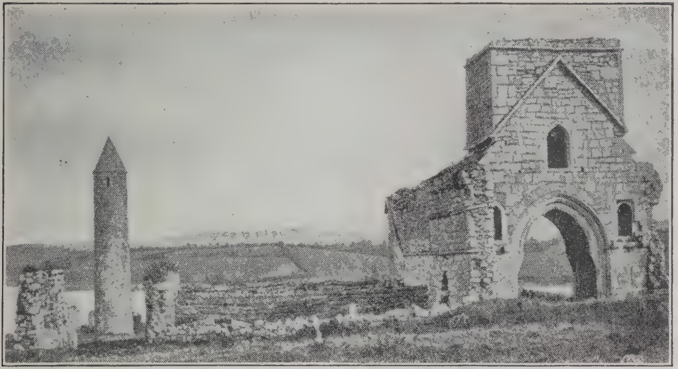
Moville.

Bangor.

At the north end of Strangford Lough were two famous schools. The first was founded at Moville, by Saint Finnian, in the year 555, and had Saint Columba as its most famous pupil. Five miles to the north, close to the seashore, was the famous college of Bangor, founded by Saint Comgall in 555.

Glendalough.

About the same time Saint Kevin founded a church and school at Glendalough, the "vale of the two lakes," in Wicklow. During the centuries which followed, this was one of the best known and



RUINS ON DEVENISH ISLAND, LOUGH ERNE
The round tower is 84 feet 10 inches high, and varies from many other round towers in having a sculptured band below the cap

most frequented centres of religious learning in Ireland. Saint Kevin's house is one of those high-roofed buildings which we learn to recognize as the oldest form of religious architecture in Ireland. It is slightly larger than the house of Saint Molaise at Inismurray, but very similar.

49. The third patron saint of Ireland. Saint Columba was born at Gartan in Donegal about 521. His father was one of the chiefs of Irish Dalriada, while his mother belonged to the royal family of Leinster. Columba was, in fact, a great-great-grandson of Niall of the Nine Hostages. He was educated first at the School of Clonard, founded by Saint Finnian about the year 520, in the southwest of Meath; and later continued his studies under the same teacher at Moville, in County Down, and under Saint Kieran at Clonmacnoise. In 550, he founded a monastery at Kells in Meath, and his house, very similar to the dwellings of Saint Kevin at Glenda-

Clonard.

Founded monasteries of Durrow and Kells.

lough and Saint Molaise at Inismurray, is still to be seen there. In 553, he founded the monastery of Durrow, in the north of what is now the King's County. These are only two among many churches which he built in the twenty years before his exile.

50. Saint Columba exiled. The cause of his exile was as follows: a dispute arose over a copy of the Book of Psalms, which Columba made, from a manuscript belonging to Saint Finnian, his teacher at Clonard and Moville. Finnian claimed the copy. Columba refused to give it up. The dispute was referred to King Diarmaid. The king, following the principle laid down in the Brehon Laws: "to every cow belongs its calf," decided that "to every book belongs its copy," the earliest decision on copyright recorded in our history. He therefore awarded the copy to Finnian. Columba refused to accept the decision, and appealed for aid to his tribe. A fierce dispute arose, culminating in a great battle at Cooldrevin, near Drumcliff, a few miles north of Sligo. This battle was fought in 561, and the partisans of Columba were completely victorious. Tradition says that three thousand of their opponents were slain. The evil which Columba thus brought about drew down on him the reprimand of the entire Irish church, and he was advised to seek voluntary exile, which he did shortly afterward.

Dispute with Finnian.

Battle of Cooldrevin. A. D. 561.

Saint Columba went forth from his native land in 563 with twelve companions. From this fact he is called "The Preceptor of the Twelve Apostles of Ireland." He was then forty-two years old, and has the lasting honor of being the first of the Irish disciples to carry the gospel to other lands. Columba and his followers went to the little island of Iona, off the west coast of Scotland, which was then part of

Columba goes to Iona.

the Scottish Dalriada (see section 29). Here Columba founded his world-famed monastery, which became a centre of missionary work among the wild Picts of the Scottish mainland. Columba adopted the same methods which Patrick had used in Ireland, with results almost as wonderful. Soon churches and schools sprang up through the dominions of the Picts by hundreds.

His work among the Picts.

HOUSE OF ST. KEVIN AT GLENDALOUGH

There is no reason to question that this was once the habitation of St. Kevin. The large building is the oldest, the round belfry being a later addition

51. The Synod of Druim-Ceatt. When this work of expiation, thus splendidly begun, had been carried forward to success, Columba deemed himself entitled to return to his beloved native land. He visited Ireland several times, going from one of his early schools to another, and took part in the famous synod of Druim-Ceatt, held in the year 575. Here he gained two noteworthy victories. The first was the securing of home rule for the Irish colonies in Scotland, the Scottish Dalriada. The second was the revocation

Columba revisits Ireland.

of a decree against the ancient order of bards, whose poetry Columba himself ardently admired and diligently studied. In the same year, he founded the religious school of Drumcliff, close to the battlefield of Cooldrevin, a work of expiation for the great wrong-doing of his early life.

Drumcliff.

52. Saint Columba's ability. Speaking of the wonderful powers possessed by Saint Columba, his biographer Adamnan says: "Among the miracles which this same man of the Lord, while dwelling in mortal flesh, performed by the gift of God, was his foretelling the future by the spirit of prophecy, with which he was highly favored from his early years, and making known to those who were present what was happening in other places; for, though absent in body, he was present in spirit, and could look on things that were widely apart, according to the words of Saint Paul, 'He that is joined unto the Lord is one spirit.' Hence this same man of the Lord, Saint Columba, when a few of the brethren would sometimes inquire into the matter, did not deny that by some divine intuition, and through a wonderful expansion of his inner soul, he beheld the whole universe drawn together and laid open to his sight as in one ray of the sun."

Prophetic spirit.

Besides founding schools and churches in many parts of Ireland, and planting outposts of Christianity and learning amongst the pagans of Scotland, first at Iona and then at many places on the mainland, Columba was an indefatigable literary worker. He wrote both in Latin and in Gaelic. In the latter tongue he composed several Irish poems. He used his knowledge of the former chiefly in the preparation of copies of the Latin Gospels. He is said to have transcribed three hundred copies of the Gospels. So

Literary skill and learning.

great was his renown for beautiful penmanship that tradition has ascribed to him the writing of the famous Book of Kells. It is true that this wonderful manuscript comes from one of the monasteries founded by Columba, but it was probably written in the century after his death, which took place in 596.

53. How the early schools were founded. Let us try to give a picture of the founding of one of these schools, and the life led by its inhabitants. At the heart of each one of these undertakings we find some man of fine character and strong personality, a born leader. The master and his disciples gained the sympathy of a tribal chief, who made them a grant of land, and probably added a gift of cattle. This grant consisted of forest, pasture, and arable land. It was generally chosen on the bank of a stream which supplied pure water and fish. The teacher and his pupils went with their axes to the woods to cut down trees to build their dwellings. Others herded the cattle, or yoked the oxen to plough up the new fields, and later quarried the stone to build their church. They themselves made all the furniture for the church and their houses. The pupils also studied indefatigably with their master, learning to read and write both Irish and Latin. A very important work was the preparation of parchment from the skins of goats and sheep, to be used in making finely written manuscripts of the Gospels and other works. The schools took the place of printing-houses, and, as the missionary work spread, not only in Ireland itself, but in Britain and among many nations on the continent, there was a great and increasing demand for these Irish-made books. Many of them are still found in places as remote from Ireland as Milan in Italy and Schaffhausen in Switzerland.

Work of the schools.

These schools in time received many gifts in jewelry and gold from native chieftains and those who attended the services in their churches. The gold and jewelry were used to make beautiful church vessels, chalices, crosses, and croziers, all decorated in the native style, with embossed tracery, in the same patterns that were used for the initials and headpieces of the illuminated manuscripts.

Riches of the schools.

The schools were also places of refuge and rest for weary travellers, who received hospitality, kindliness, and care until they were ready to continue on their way. It was the custom at these seats of learning that each student should build a hut for his own use; and as some of the early colleges had as many as three thousand pupils, they were more like towns than monasteries.

Hospitality to travellers.

The schools founded by Columba and his successors in many parts of Scotland followed the same model; and in the seventh century the same system was extended through the north of England. The pagan Saxons and Danes of Northumbria were the first to receive these Irish schools, which brought them a knowledge of reading and writing as well as the rudiments of the Christian faith. The monastery of Lindisfarne, on an island off the coast of Northumberland, was founded by the Irish monk Aedan, in 634; Finan and Colman, the second and third heads of this monastery, were also Irishmen.

Schools in Scotland and England.

54. Fame of the Irish schools. Thirty years after the founding of Lindisfarne, the English historian Bede has an entry which sheds some light on the position of the Irish schools. Speaking of an epidemic of sickness which ravaged England in 664, he says: "This pestilence did no less harm in the island of Ireland. Many of the nobility and of the lower ranks of the English nation were there at that time, and some of them devoted themselves to the monastic life; others chose to apply themselves to study. The Scots (Irish) willingly received them all, and took care to supply them with food, as also to furnish them with books to read, and their teaching, all free."

At about the same time, Alfred, king of the Northumbrian Saxons, studied in Ireland, while a king of France, Dagobert II, passed a period of exile in Ireland and took the opportunity to study the language and literature of the country.

55. Political development during this period. During the epoch of the saints and scholars, the family of Niall (see section 39) continued to dominate Ireland. Niall had several sons, one of whom, Laegaire, was king at Tara when Saint Patrick came; another, Eogan, gave his name to a principality in the north, Tir-Eogain or Tyrone, "the land of Eogan;" a third son was Conall Gulban, who gave his name to the territory of Tir-Conaill or Tyrconnell, "the land of Conall," now Donegal. Eogan's grandson, Muirceartac, succeeded his cousin, Lugaid, in the High Kingship, holding it for twenty-four years. He had three brothers who gathered a fleet and made an expedition to the Irish colony in Scotland in 503. They gradually extended this colony into a kingdom. The kings of Scotland were descended from this family, and the Stuarts brought the same race south to the throne of England eleven centuries later.

Foundation of kingdom of Scotland.

Tuatal, the grandson of Cairbré, another of Niall's sons, was the next High King, holding the sovereignty for eleven years, and the three following High Kings, Diarmaid, Domnall, and Eocaid, were also descended from Niall. In 564, a rival family came into power. Ainmire, the son of Sedna, gained the supreme power and held it for three years. He was succeeded by his son, Aed, who held the sovereignty for twenty-seven years. The presence of a different family on the throne of Ireland naturally caused trouble between that country and the colony of the descendants of Niall in Scotland. The ruler of the colony flatly refused to pay tribute to King Aed. Through the intervention of Saint Columba, already recorded, this question was happily settled at the Synod of Druim-Ceatt (see section **51**) in the year 574.

56. The battle of Moira. Domnall, the son of Aed, who won the High Kingship after a series of short and unimportant reigns, is chiefly remembered for the battle of Moira, fought in the year 637. Early in his reign, Congall, one of the Ulster princes, had been driven into exile. Congall fled to Britain and spent ten years gaining friends and collecting an army, which he brought against his native country, landing on the shore of Belfast Lough. He led his army some fifteen miles inland to Moira, where he was met by Domnall, the High King. A battle was fought, which lasted for six days, in which Congall was defeated and slain.

Invasion by Congall.

A series of unimportant reigns followed, marked only by the attempt of the High King, Finnacta, to levy the Boruma tribute (see section **28**) on Leinster. He was persuaded to relinquish it by Saint Moling, and thus for a time a fruitful source of strife was removed. From the reign of this king until the coming of the Danes there is nothing to record in the political life of Ireland but a succession of battles in which the heads of various provincial kingdoms struggled for the mastery.

Boruma tribute relinquished.

SUMMARY

Saint Patrick set the example of building churches and founding schools in different parts of Ireland. This practice was greatly extended in the sixth century. The first Irish school outside Ireland was founded by Saint Columba, at Iona off the Scottish coast, in 563. From Iona missionaries carried the same method and teaching through the Scottish Lowlands and the north of England.

The family of Niall of the Nine Hostages reigned until the middle of the sixth century, and was followed by that of Ainmire, whose grandson, Domnall, won the battle of Moira. In the next generation, the Boruma tribute (see section 28) was remitted.

CHAPTER IX

THE RAIDS OF THE NORSEMEN

795–1014

57. Character of the Norse invasions. The tribal warfare rather expressed than detracted from the vigor of the nation's life, but it had one very grave defect. It so cherished and kindled the instinct of separateness that union in face of a common foe was almost impossible. This was shown during the early raids of the Norsemen, hardy pirates from the fiords of Norway and * the isles of the Baltic. Modern historians generally write as if the onslaught of the Norsemen had had a unifying effect. Some write as though their coming had been a great national calamity, overwhelming the country for several centuries, and submerging its original life under a flood of conquest. But if we are to believe the Chronicles of the time, such was not the case. We find inroads of the Norsemen, it is true, but they are only interludes in the old life of storm and struggle, making no great difference to the masses of the people. The Norsemen, being pagans, did not spare the churches, schools, and religious settlements. The gold and silver reliquaries, the jewelled manuscript-cases, the offerings of precious stones and rich ornaments laid on the altars, proved irresistible to the greedy sea-kings. They burned or threw away the manuscripts, caring only for the cases, and in this way many gaps in the nation's literature have

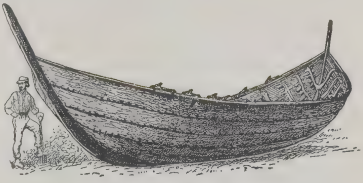
Not a conquest.

Destructiveness and greed of the invaders.

become irremediable. Still, the loss was less than might be supposed, as many remote shrines were never reached, and in the periods between the raids copies of manuscripts could be, and were, made. The entries in the Chronicles justify us in considering these raids of the Norsemen no more than episodes in the general fighting.

Lambay Islands.

58. The Norsemen begin their raids. The first advent of the Norse raiders is recorded to have taken place in 795 A. D. Lambay, an island of considerable extent off the Dublin coast, some six or seven miles north of Howth Head, was plundered and burned. There was a large and rich religious settlement there, with many books, which were stripped of their covers and burned. Three years later, the little island of Saint Patrick, six miles north of Lambay, met with a similar fate. It was "burned by the Gentiles," as the Chronicles say, meaning that the pirate Norsemen were pagans, ignorant of Christianity.


ANCIENT DANISH BOAT
This boat was found in a peat bog near Nydam, South Jutland

Iona raided.

From that time forward we hear of their long ships again and again hovering hawk-like around the coasts of Ireland and Scotland. In 802, and again in 806, the settlement of Iona was raided, and Inismurray was plundered in the following year.

In 812, five years later, the pirates made their way farther round the coast, and a great slaughter of the people of Connemara took place. In 819, Howth was plundered, and a great many women taken captive.

These captives were doubtless the first to bring the message of the gospel to the wild granite lands of Scandinavia. A year later, in 820, the raiders found their way to the southernmost extremity of Ireland, to Cape Clear Island, off the coast of Cork. This once more brings to our notice the position of so many of the early religious settlements, on rocky islands off the coasts, placed there to be well outside the turmoil of tribal strife, which raged uninterrupted on the mainland. Saint Patrick's island, and Lambay on the east, Cape Clear Island on the south, and Inismurray on the northwest, so well protected by the sea from disturbance at home, were, by that very isolation, terribly exposed to the foreign raiders, who made the sea their highway. The religious settlements and schools of Howth, Moville, and Bangor, all on peninsulas, were open to a like danger. Therefore we are not surprised to find that they in their turn were "plundered by the Gentiles" two years later.

Captives as missionaries.

Exposed position of the schools.

THE CHALICE OF ARDAGH
This chalice is 7 inches high and 9½ inches in diameter, and in form like those in use in the tenth century. The bowl is silver, with gold plates on the bands

59. Native resistance to the invaders. At first, the Norsemen had confined their expeditions to islands, or to coast settlements, and they had been wholly successful, leaving death and destruction in their wake. In 823, we find them attempting a raid against Dun-da-leth-glas, "the dwelling of the two broken fetters," the great royal fort beside Downpatrick, close to the mouth of the Quoyle River. This is a great circular earthwork, like those at Tara, with a high mound inside for the chief's dwelling, and a moat skirted by a lesser exterior earthwork, and filled by a channel from the tidal river. This "fort of the two broken fetters" was thus almost impregnable from the land, but an enemy coming by sea could easily enter the channel of the moat, and so come close up under the fortress. The raiders were successful, but did not wholly escape. We find that they were overtaken by the soldiers of Dun-da-leth-glas and defeated shortly afterward. This is the first repulse suffered by the pirates in their incursions against the coasts of Ireland.

60. The pirates penetrate inland. Three years later, they plundered Lusk on the mainland opposite Lambay, but in the same year, 826, they were twice defeated in battle, once by Cairbré, and again by the Ulster armies. From this time on, the raids of the northerners become more determined and frequent. The first pirates seem to have spread tidings among the northern fiords that Ireland was inexhaustibly rich in jewels and gold, and all kinds of costly stuffs dyed in red, blue, and purple; so that swarms of pirates followed in the tracks of the first adventurous raiders.

Lusk plundered.

Fame of Ireland's riches.

We read that Armagh, the centre of Saint Patrick's work, and the chief home of learning, was plundered three times in 830, the raiders sailing up Carlingford Lough, and then making a dash of some fifteen miles across the undulating country separating them from the city of churches on the Hill of Maca. This is the first time they ventured out of sight of their boats. Two years later, they plundered Clondalkin, nine miles inland from the Dublin coast.

Raids against Armagh and Clondalkin.

61. The Round Towers of Ireland. At Clondalkin stands a Round Tower, which still marks the site of the old church and school; and round towers of the same form are found all over the country. They were at once bell-towers and places of refuge, and their building is to be attributed to the growing frequency of the raids of the Norsemen. The doors of these round towers are almost always eight or ten feet above the ground, and were reached by ladders, which could be drawn up by those inside. As the walls were of great thickness, and as very heavy oak doors were used, these towers were safe even from fire, and the refugees could wait patiently until they were relieved by some neighboring chieftain, or until the invaders withdrew.

62. The first permanent Norse settlements. In 836, a fleet of sixty Norse fighting galleys sailed up the river Boyne, and the same number, or perhaps even the same ships, later sailed up the Liffey. In the following year, the Norsemen captured "the Ford of the Hurdles," At-Cliat, the old name for Dublin. Up to this time, the Norse raiders had come only in early summer, retiring with their plunder to their native fiords a few months later, before the North Sea was swept by the autumn storms. But once they had gained a footing at the mouth of the Liffey, they changed their plans, and determined to remain in Ireland through the winter.

The capture of Dublin.

Not until the year 846 was any definite and concerted attempt made to oust the intruders. In that year, the native powers made a concentrated attack, and gained a victory over the Norsemen at At-Cliat, slaying twelve hundred of the pirates. Four other successful attempts to beat back the raiders are recorded for the same year.

Slaughter of the Norsemen at Dublin.

About the same time, the Norsemen gained a second point of vantage by seizing and fortifying a strong position in a great network of inlets on the south coast, where the town of Cork now stands. Their seamanlike instincts led them to fix their first intrenched camps at Dublin, Cork, and Limerick — which remained during subsequent centuries the great ports of the country on the east, south, and west. The Norse language still lingers in the names of Strangford, Carlingford, Wexford, and Waterford, the fiords of Strang, Cairlinn, Weis, and Vadre; and in the names of a few of their settlements, like Smerwick in Kerry.

Cork fortified by the Norsemen.

CIRCULAR CASTLE ON THE QUAY AT WATERFORD
Said to have been erected by Reginald the Dane in 1003

63. Beginning of national resistance. Four years after the capture of Cork, the contests between the raiders and the Irish chieftains grew more bitter, more centred, and more organized. In the words of the Annals, "A complete muster of the North was made by King Aed, so that he plundered the fortresses of the foreigners. The victory was gained over the foreigners, and a slaughter was made of them. Their heads were collected in one place, in the presence of the king, and twelve-score heads were reckoned

Norse defeat in 853.

before him, which was the number slain in that battle, besides the numbers of those who were wounded and carried off by him in the agonies of death, and who died of their wounds some time afterwards."

Far from uniting against the Norse invaders in a single national force, however, the Irish chieftains often made temporary alliances with the pagan pirates in their fights against each other. In this way we find an Irish chief allying himself with the foreigners to make an attack upon King Aed two years after the contest just described.

Niall, Malachi the Great, and Brian Boru.

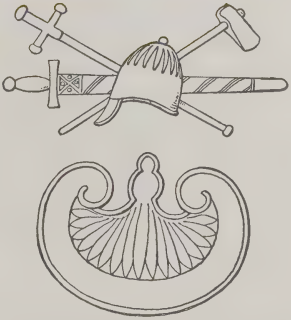
Three kings of Ireland gained lasting renown during these contests with the Norsemen. The first was Niall, son of Aed, High King from 916 to 919, who finally fell in a battle near Dublin, in which the foreigners overcame the native tribesmen. The second was Malachi the Great, who became High King in 980. The third was Brian Boru, brother of Mahon, king of the province of North Muma, or Munster. This region lay south of the lower Shannon, and was dominated by the strong settlement of the Norsemen at Limerick.

Brian defeats the Norsemen at Sulcoit.

Brian and his brother Mahon were in perpetual conflict with the Norse raiders, alternately defeating them and being defeated, but were finally worsted and compelled to fly across the estuary of the Shannon to the lakes and forests of Clare. Brian finally determined to make another vigorous effort against the invaders, and, calling a general assembly of the tribesmen of North Munster, he asked them to make a decision for peace or war. The tribesmen unanimously decided for war, and a battle was fought in 968, at Sulcoit, north of the Galtee Mountains, in what is now Tipperary, and the Norsemen were defeated and put to flight. The Munster tribesmen pursued them for twenty miles, till they took refuge in their strong fortress at Limerick. This was the first of a series of victories against the raiders, who, from this time forward, are generally spoken of as Danes, though they came from Norway as well as Denmark.

Malachi attacks Dublin.

While Brian directed his attacks against the Norse settlements of Limerick and the lower Shannon, the High King, Malachi the Great, was making a like attack on the Norse settlements in Dublin, and on the coast as far north as the Boyne. In 979, he defeated the invaders near Tara, and even captured their stronghold of Dublin, setting free two thousand prisoners whom they had taken from the Irish tribes. Dublin was recovered by the Norsemen, but again taken by Malachi, in 996, when that king captured, among other spoils, the golden ring of a former Norse chieftain, Tomar, and the historic sword of Carlus, who had been slain in battle a century and a quarter earlier. The ring of Tomar, the first king of the Danes of Dublin, had been handed down as an heirloom. The sword of Carlus, son of a Danish king, changed hands four times, being carried off and retaken by both Danish and Irish armies.



DANISH WEAPONS OF THE TENTH CENTURY

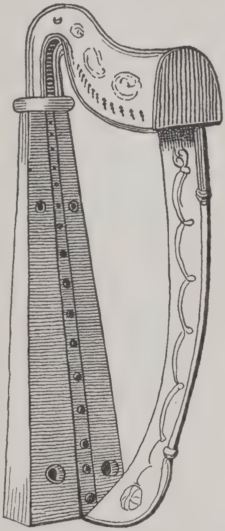
64. Malachi and Brian divide Ireland between them, 998. Two such strong personalities as Malachi and Brian, rulers of provinces which had long been rivals, could hardly be expected to live in brotherly union and concord. We find them constantly at strife, even while both were fighting against the common foe. They finally agreed to divide Ireland between them, Malachi taking the northern part, and handing over the southern to Brian. This arrangement was made in 998, and not unnaturally gave great offence to the king of Leinster, whose territory lay in the southeast of the island, and therefore in the region assigned by Malachi to Brian. The king of Leinster made an alliance with the Danes of Dublin, and determined to resist Brian's authority. Brian and Malachi immediately gathered an army, and met and defeated the united armies of the king of Leinster and the Danes in one of the valleys of the Wicklow hills. Four thousand of the Leinstermen and Danes were slain.

65. Brian becomes High King. Brian was too ambitious willingly to acknowledge the overlordship of Malachi, the High King. He determined to win the chief sovereignty for himself, and decided to form an alliance with the Danes of Dublin in order to strengthen his party. He married Gormlait, sister of the king of Leinster, and widow of a former chieftain of the Danes, whose son Sitric was now their acknowledged leader. This alliance won over to Brian's side both the king of Leinster and the Danes of Dublin, and Brian presently felt strong enough to lead an army northward toward Tara, to try conclusions with Malachi for the High Kingship of Ireland. Malachi recognized that his opponent was too strong for him, and made his submission. This took place in the year 1002, and for the next twelve years, until he was slain at the battle of Clontarf, Brian was recognized as the High King.

Forms alliance with the Danes of Dublin.

66. The rule of Brian. As High King, Brian showed he was no less a statesman than a warrior. He ruled

Ireland from the fort of Kincora, in Clare. All over Ireland, schools and monasteries had suffered from the attacks of the Norsemen. Brian rebuilt them and restored them to their former prosperity. He further compelled general obedience to the law. To indicate the peace and security which prevailed during his High Kingship, it is said that a lady richly clad and wearing a gold ring could walk from one end of Ireland to the other without the slightest danger of molestation. Brian also made roads, built bridges, and opened up the country for internal traffic. A period of general well-being began, which lasted for a century and three quarters, during which the genius of Ireland enjoyed a free and happy development almost equal to that of the great epoch after the coming of Saint Patrick.



ANCIENT IRISH HARP SAID TO HAVE BELONGED TO BRIAN BORU

The harp is 32 inches high and has 24 strings. The arms of the O'Brien family are chased on the front arm

67. Quarrel between Brian and the king of Leinster. The king of Leinster visited his new ally and brother-in-law Brian at the latter's fortress of Kincora above the Shannon. Tradition says that he quarrelled with Brian's son at a game of chess, and that from this quarrel grew a lasting enmity which finally determined the king of Leinster to invoke the aid of the Danes against Brian and his ally Malachi. Long and determined preparations were made for the struggle, the Norsemen summoning allies from their settlements in the Western Isles and Scotland, and from the coasts of the North Sea. Brian, with his ally, the former High King, brought the armies of Ireland to the level country on the north bank of the Liffey, close to Dublin, prepared for the final conflict.

68. The battle of Clontarf. The great battle of Clontarf was fought on Good Friday, in the year 1014. The scene of this famous conflict was on the coast, between Dublin and the Hill of Howth. A wide strand of boulders is here laid bare by the receding tide. At the very verge of the farthest tide, on either bank of the Liffey, are immense sandbanks, where the waves roar and rumble with a sound like the bellowing of bulls. Even to-day the sandbanks are called the North and South Bull. The name Clontarf comes from Cluaintarb, the "Meadow of the Bulls," a name poetically derived from the roaring of the waves along the shore.

Site of the battle.

Sitric, the Danish chief, had assembled his forces and his allies the Leinstermen within and around the walls of Dublin. Brian and Malachi then set fire to the outlying settlements, and the fighting became general. There was little order or strategy on either side, but rather a series of hand-to-hand conflicts. All day the battle raged, "a spirited, fierce, violent, vengeful, and furious battle," as the Annals say. Toward evening, the Danes and their allies began to give way before a determined attack of Brian and Malachi. As the tide was out, the ships of the Danes were at a considerable distance, with a wide stretch of rough and slippery boulders between. Thus the Danes failed to reach their ships. The slaughter on both sides was great, the Danes and Leinstermen losing seven thousand warriors, while four thousand of the Irish army were slain. Nearly all the leaders of both armies were killed, Brian the High King falling, as well as the king of Leinster, who had provoked

This battle final.

the conflict. The battle of Clontarf closed the struggle between paganism and Christianity. The news of the victory of Brian was rapidly carried across the sea to the distant Norsemen, who were so impressed with the story of their kinsmen's defeat that they made no more raids against Ireland.

SUMMARY

The Norsemen first came to Ireland from the coast of Norway in 795, and until 1014 their destructive raids were continuous. They burned towns, plundered the churches and schools, and took innumerable captives, first attacking the islands and settlements on the coast, and then venturing inland. These captives became missionaries in their exile. By about 850, the Norsemen held possession of such important strongholds as Dublin, Cork, and Limerick, and the contests between them and the Irish chieftains grew more bitter, first one side and then the other gaining the advantage. Famous among the Irish High Kings who fought against the invaders were Niall, Malachi the Great, and Brian Boru. At the battle of Clontarf, in 1014, Brian Boru finally broke the power of the Norsemen. The struggle between paganism and Christianity was closed, and no more Norsemen came to Ireland.

CHAPTER X

THE MISSIONS TO FOREIGN LANDS

500–1100

69. The Danes did not attack Christianity. The Norse invasions, which harassed Ireland during more than two centuries, did no lasting or vital harm either to the national or spiritual development of the people. From a political standpoint, they caused disturbances which were scarcely more than added incidents to the general warfare of the times. From a religious standpoint, the harm they did was only material. When churches and monasteries were raided, the attack was made in search of booty, and not against Christianity; and, if monks and nuns were carried off as prisoners, they only gained a new field for their moral energies. We find them exerting their Christian influence by preaching the gospel among the pirates who carried them away.

70. Ireland the bridge over the Dark Ages. Along with the teaching of the Gospels, which were read in Latin, the study of the ancient poets and historians of Rome, and even of Greece, was not neglected. Ireland had received the learning and traditions of Rome while Rome was still mighty. The Roman Empire fell, swallowed up by the tide of northern savages. Gaul was overrun by the Franks; Spain and Italy by the Lombards, Goths, and Vandals; Britain by Angles, Saxons, and Danes; while Picts and Norsemen devastated the Scottish lowlands, and destroyed whatever of Roman culture had penetrated there; Austria was swept by Asiatic nomads, like the Huns and Magyars; Russia and Germany, with the Scandinavian lands, were still pagan. Thus all Europe was submerged under a deluge of heathendom. Ireland was the one exception, the ark of safety for the old wisdom and beauty of classical days. It was the bridge over the Dark Ages, and, as soon as the flood of heathen invasion ebbed, light and hope crossed the bridge, and were first carried by Irish teachers and preachers to all the new-formed nations of Europe, the great pagan tribes that were to be transformed into the peoples of the modern world.

71. Ireland's pagan history preserved almost complete. At this point, another view of Ireland's significance should be held in mind. We know practically nothing of the original life of the great pagan peoples who destroyed the Roman Empire. Franks, Vandals, Angles, Lombards, and the rest are shrouded in complete darkness, until they are illumined by the fires of devastation which they kindled through the provinces of Rome.

Records of the bards.

Outside Greece and Italy, we have very few written records for the study of early European life in any country but Ireland. There the bards and heralds had woven a durable fabric of verse in every period of their ancient history, recording not only events, but also the whole substance and tenor of their lives, with their loves and hates, their hopes and fears, their ambitions and their longings. This web of verse still lived in the hearts and on the lips of the bards when Patrick went to Ireland and learned the Irish tongue. In this tongue he himself composed verses after the ancient Irish model. Writing was brought by Patrick, or even earlier. When it came, the ancient verse records were full of life, and so were written down and

Introduction of writing.

preserved. Many of them were translated into Latin at the same time, as the historical records and chronicles kept by the churches and schools were written in Latin. Thus the ancient traditional literature of Ireland has been transmitted to the modern world virtually intact, embodying the greater part of what we know of the ancient peoples of northern Europe.

72. Missionary work on the continent. The work of converting the pagans of northwestern Europe to Christianity was carried on chiefly by Irish missionaries, aided by men of continental birth, who had received their religious and literary training in Ireland. Columba and his associates brought Christianity, learning, and art to Scotland, and later to the pagan Angles and Saxons of the north of England. We shall now briefly trace the work of Irish missionaries on the continent of Europe, in the centuries following the time of Saint Columba.

Irish pioneers.

The best known of the continental missionaries was Columbanus, a Leinsterman, born in 543. From the school of Bangor, in the north of Ireland, Columbanus went to France, where he worked for about twenty years, and founded the two monasteries of Luxeuil and Fontaines. He was expelled from Burgundy for denouncing the vices of King Theodoric, and later he incurred the displeasure of the reigning queen of the Franks, who ordered him to be sent back to Ireland. We next find him on the Rhine, visiting the ruined monasteries and schools which had been devastated by the Franks and Goths. He and his disciples ascended the river toward Switzerland. When they reached Lake Constance, Gallus, one of the pupils of Columbanus, decided to remain there, and soon afterward, in 612, laid the foundation of the

Columbanus in France.

Gallus founds his monastery.

monastery of Saint Gall. From Gallus the Swiss canton of Saint Gall takes its name.

Columbanus founds Bobbio.

Columbanus continued his pilgrimage southward across the Alps into Italy. There he received a grant of land in the territory between Milan and Genoa, on which he founded the monastery of Bobbio. Columbanus was a man of great learning, and found time to write many books, including a "Monastic Rule" and many learned letters. He passed the closing days of his life as a hermit, in the mountains of Italy.

Other Irish teachers.

Fursa, the apostle of Belgium; Fridolin, who taught on the Rhine; Cataldus of Lismore, who became bishop of Tarentum in the south of Italy, and Kilian, the teacher of Franconia, show how widely dispersed and how influential were these Irish missions. Even more eminent was Virgil, the founder of the great religious settlement at Salzburg in Austria. He was famed for his knowledge of mathematics and science, and was the first among moderns to teach that the earth was round and went round the sun. Virgil died in 785. Hardly less celebrated was Demcad of Cologne, who died in 813.

SCRIBE AT WORK ON THE BOOK OF KILDARE

From a manuscript in the British Museum

It is interesting to note how these missionaries travelled. They went in companies, taking with them their books, the beautiful manuscripts for which Ireland was so justly famed. They carried no weapons more formidable than long staves, and had leathern wallets and drinking-bottles fastened to their girdles. For writing, they used the wax writing-tablets of the Romans, as well as prepared skins or parchments. Excelling in religious and classical learning, they were also skilled in music, painting, and carving. They not only visited already existing monasteries, but often explored lands where Christianity had never been heard of, such as Poland, Bulgària, Russia, and Iceland. Where they found a region which pleased and attracted them, they made a settlement and worked among the people.

How the Irish teachers travelled.

73. Johannes Scotus Erigena, 800–875. The famous universities of Oxford, Paris, and Pavia counted among the great spirits which inspired their being and laid the foundations of their classical learning men who were worthy pupils of the Irish schools of Devenish, Durrow, Bangor, and Moville. The most celebrated of these was Johannes Scotus Erigena, that is, "John the Scot, born in Erin;" the close friend of Charles the Bald, king of France.

74. Marianus Scotus. One of the most characteristic Irish religious settlements on the continent was at Ratisbon, or Regensburg, in Bavaria. Its monastery was dedicated to Saint James, and from it teachers went forth to found many other "Scotic," that is, Irish, monasteries. The story of Marianus Scotus is closely connected with this school; and although this famous scholar came somewhat later than the epoch we have been describing, living at the end of the eleventh century, his life and work give us an insight into the character and methods of the earlier missionaries.

"This holy man wrote from beginning to end with his own hand the Old and New Testaments, with explanatory comments on the same books, and that not once or twice, but over and over again, with a view to the eternal reward, all the while clad in sorry garb, living on slender diet, attended and aided by his brethren, both in the upper and lower monasteries, who prepared the parchments for his use; besides, he also wrote many smaller books and manuals, psalters for distressed widows and poor clerics in the same city toward the health of his soul, without any prospect of earthly gain. Furthermore, through the grace of God, many congregations of the monastic order, which, in faith and charity and imitation of the blessed Marianus, are derived from the aforesaid Ireland, and inhabit Bavaria and Franconia, are sustained by the writings of the blessed Marianus."

Great numbers of students.

75. Enthusiasm for Irish teaching. It is easy to understand that all this missionary zeal flowed from a sincere and abundant culture at home. Greek had early been added to Latin, and some of the ancient Irish scholars were even familiar with Hebrew. The fame of these schools had gone abroad, and students flocked to Ireland from all the neighboring countries, and especially from England, coming thence in fleet loads, as a Saxon writer at the beginning of the eighth century expressed it. From kings and nobles down to the poorest students, all were received, cared for, and taught, free of charge, in the Irish schools. Saint Finnian's school at Clonard in Meath had three thousand pupils, and Bangor in Down had almost as many. Allowing one New Testament to three pupils, a thousand copies would be required for each of these schools, so that scribes had plenty of work. The tide of learning also flowed outward from Ireland. Thus a great divine of France, who died in 875 A. D., writes: "What need to speak of Ireland, setting at nought, as it does, the difficulties of the sea, and coming almost in a body to our shores, with its crowd of philosophers, the most intelligent of whom are subjecting themselves to a voluntary exile."

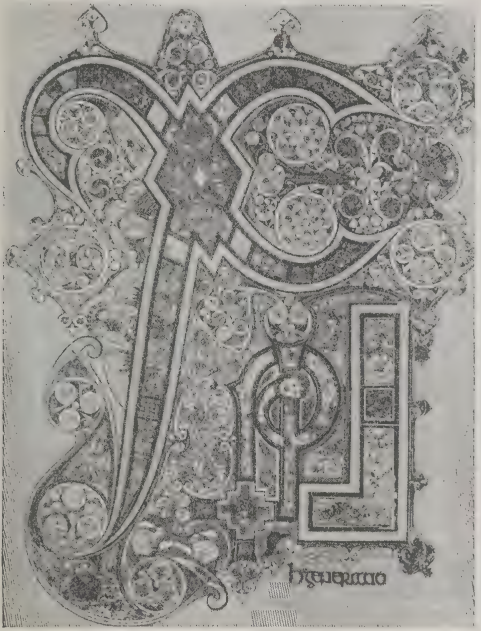
76. Supply of books. In the beginning, it was almost impossible to get a sufficient supply of books for the new monasteries, as the copying of manuscripts was a slow matter. Such continental monasteries as those founded by Columbanus at Luxeuil, Fontaines, and Bobbio got their supply of books from the Irish schools, and up to the tenth century it was the custom of the Irish teachers to carry books from their island home to their schools on the continent. There are numerous instances of donations of manuscripts made by Irish scholars to foreign schools. Thus, in 823, a learned Irishman gave a number of books to the monastery of Bobbio. Two of these may still be seen in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. Not long after, in 841, Marcus, an Irish bishop, who was returning with his nephew from a pilgrimage to Rome, visited the monastery of Saint Gall in Switzerland. He was so charmed with the view that he remained there for the rest of his life, and, out of gratitude for the hospitality he received, willed his books to the monastery.

Furnished by Irish schools.

As all books at this time were written by hand, penmanship was one of the most cultivated arts, and was carried to a wonderful degree of perfection. The scribes, who were generally, but not invariably, monks, were held in great respect by the people. The Irish books were not only finely written, but also ornamented in a fashion which was early perfected in Ireland. First the initial letters were made larger, more elaborate, and more beautiful. Then they were surrounded with dots of color, and finally with delicately interlaced scroll-work, which was sometimes continued along the margin of the page. Decorated head-pieces

Beauty of the early books.

and tail-pieces were added, in which leaves, the figures of animals and serpents, and sometimes even portraits



FACSMILE OF A PAGE OF THE BOOK OF KELLS

This is the most elegant initial page in the book, and represents Xρι (the abbreviation of *Christi*) autem generatio, translated to *Now the generation of Christ*. Matt. i. 18

of saints were mingled with the interlaced scroll-work. Many colors were used. Red, green, pink, blue, and yellow, for instance, are employed in the illumination of the Book of Kells. So well were these colors made that after twelve centuries they have lost none of their original brilliancy. The Book of Kells was finished before the end of the seventh century, and is, without doubt, the most

The books of Kells, Armagh, Durrow, and MacDurnan.

perfect and most beautiful manuscript in the world. It is a Latin manuscript of the Gospels. The Book of Armagh, finished in 807, contains the Confession of Saint Patrick, the Epistle to Coroticus, and a Life of the apostle of Ireland. The Book of Durrow, written about the same time as the Book of Kells, and the Book of MacDurnan, written shortly after the Book of Armagh, show the same admirable workmanship.

SUMMARY

About the time when Saint Patrick was working in Ireland, the Roman Empire was attacked and conquered by hordes of pagans from the north and east of Europe. These pagans destroyed the institutions of the Roman Empire, and overthrew the Christian churches and schools. A period of lawlessness and ignorance began, from which the modern nations of western Europe gradually emerged. Missionaries and teachers from Ireland were the strongest influence in reviving Christianity and spreading classical learning over Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, Austria, and Switzerland; and Irish teachers penetrated as far as Iceland, Russia, and the extreme south of Italy. For centuries they provided all northern Europe with books.

CHAPTER XI

FROM NORSEMEN TO NORMANS

1015–1169

77. Malachi again becomes High King. On the death of Brian, Malachi once more became High King, and filled this office worthily for eight years more, dying in 1022, at the age of seventy-three. During the closing years of his life, he stamped out the last sparks of Danish resistance, and once more defeated the late allies of the Danes, the men of Leinster. We shall find the same provincial kingdom playing a leading part in the events which brought the Normans to Ireland, more than a century and a half later.

78. The political divisions of Ireland in the eleventh century. Ireland was at this time divided into five provinces or provincial kingdoms, with the kingdom of Meath in the centre.

O'Neills of Ulster.

In Ulster, the descendants of Niall of the Nine Hostages still ruled, their tribal name being "Sons of Niall," Hy Neill, or O'Neill. A branch of the Hy Neill, the Hy Lochlain, or O'Loughlins, at this time held the dominant power among the Sons of Niall.

O'Conors of Connaught.

In Connaught, the sons of Concobar, the Hy Concobar, or O'Conors, were the ruling family.

O'Briens of Munster.

In Munster or Muma, with its two divisions of Tuaid-Muma, or North Munster, later called Thomond, and Deas-Muma, or South Munster, later called Desmond, the family of Brian, victor of Clontarf, dominated, the Hy Brien, or

O'Briens. Leinster, the fourth provincial kingdom, was governed by the descendants of the king whom we found allied to the Danes (see section 65), and perhaps because the Leinstermen had shared in the defeat of the Danes at Clontarf, we find their kingdom at this time under a temporary eclipse. Each of these provincial kingdoms was divided into districts, whose warlike chiefs were hardly less powerful than the provincial kings themselves.

Leinster.

79. Struggle for the High Kingship. The O'Loughlins of Ulster, the O'Conors of Connaught, and the O'Briens of Munster all equally desired the title of Ard-Rig, or High King, which carried with it the overlordship of Ireland and the possession of the central kingdom of Meath. The period after Malachi the Great, who died in 1022, is filled with the struggles of these families to wrest the overlordship from each other. First one and then another gained an advantage, but none of the contestants was entirely successful in asserting his authority over the rest.

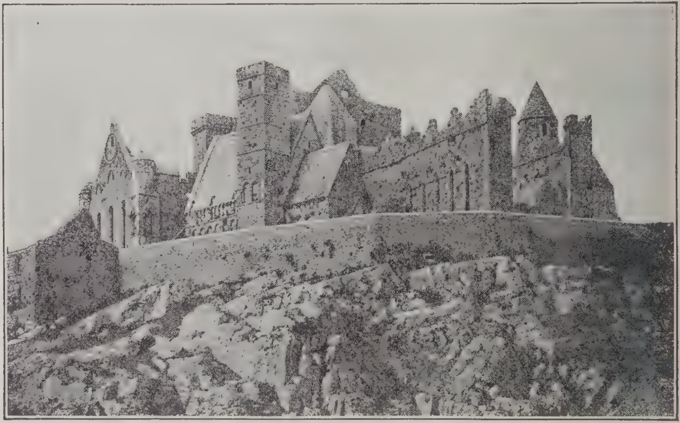
The first to gain a temporary ascendency was Donough, the son of Brian Boru, who won predominance for Munster. He was deposed in 1064, and the overlordship passed to the king of Leinster. Eight years later, however, in 1072, Munster again gained the upper hand under Turlogh O'Brien, grandson of Brian Boru. Meanwhile Ulster had remained practically independent of the High Kings. Turlogh O'Brien made a vigorous effort to assert his power over the northern kingdom, but was defeated by the men of Ulster at the old frontier ford of At-Ferdiad, or Ardee, where Cuculaind, the champion of Ulster, had long centuries before defeated Ferdiad, the champion of the armies of the south and west. The feud passed on to Turlogh's son, Murkertagh O'Brien, who became king of Leinster in 1086. For a generation he fought with the chief of the family of Niall, Donall O'Loughlin, for the title of High King.

80. Tigearnac's History of Ireland. It must not be imagined, however, that this was merely a time of warfare amongst the provincial kings. On the contrary, science, art, and literature flourished greatly. One of the great Irish writers of this period, Tigearnac, the chronicler, "a paragon of learning and history," as the Annals call him, died two years after the accession of Murkertagh, leaving us his great Latin history of Ireland. This history is a monument at once of the classical learning of the Irish schools and of the historical spirit which had been handed down from the bards and annalists of pagan times. Tigearnac enriches his history with many quotations from Latin and Greek writers like Eusebius, Orosius, Julius Africanus, Josephus, and Jerome.

81. The rock of Cashel. This was also the golden age of Irish native architecture. Murkertagh O'Brien, king of Munster, like his ancestors before him, had his great central fortress on the rock of Cashel in Tipperary. The word Cashel means "a stone fortress." Murkertagh made a grant of the rock of Cashel to the church, and the beautiful religious buildings which still stand there were shortly afterward begun. The rock itself on which these buildings stand rises sharply to a height of three hundred feet, and thus dominates the whole surrounding plain. The most interesting building on the rock is King Cormac's chapel, built by Cormac MacCarthy, chief of South Munster, and consecrated in 1134. It is the most perfect example of native architecture in Ireland. King Cormac's chapel has the high pitched stone roof of the early native churches like Saint Columba's house at Kells and Saint

King Cormac's chapel.

Kevin's at Glendalough. These steep stone roofs were so well built and so strong that they have lasted for centuries, while the roofs of much later buildings, supported by wooden beams, have fallen to ruin. Square towers of about fifty feet high stand on each side of King Cormac's chapel, one of them having a pyramid top. The arches in this chapel are semicircular, in the style later called Norman, but really handed down from the Romans.



THE ROCK OF CASHEL
Cormac's chapel with its peaked roof and square towers is seen in the middle of the group of buildings. The cap of the round tower is visible on the right

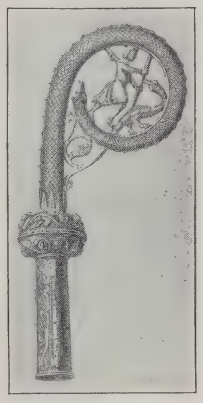
The cathedral beside Cormac's chapel was founded in 1152. It is a cruciform or cross-shaped church, its ground-plan being in the form of a cross. In the cathedral the arches are pointed, or what is usually called Gothic, and the clusters of pillars are elaborately sculptured. Beside the cathedral rises a round tower more than ninety feet high. The cross of Cashel stands close to the cathedral. At its base the kings of Munster were formerly crowned

The cathedral.

The cross of Cashel.

82. Archbishop Malachias. The most prominent figure in the religious life of Ireland in the period following the battle of Clontarf was Maelmaedog, to whom the biblical name of Malachias was also given. The Chronicles tell us, under the year 1148: "A synod was convened at Saint Patrick's isle by Maelmaedog, successor of Patrick, at which were present fifteen bishops and two hundred priests, to establish rules and morals for all. Maelmaedog, by the advice of the synod, went a second time to Rome, to confer with the successor of Peter." A few months later, the Annals record his death: "Malachias, that is, Maelmaedog, archbishop of the Chair of Patrick, chief head of the piety of the West of Europe, Legate of the successor of Peter, the only head whom the Irish and the Foreigners [Norsemen in Ireland] obeyed, chief paragon of wisdom and piety, a brilliant lamp which illumined territories and churches by preaching and good works, faithful shepherd of the church in general, — after having ordained bishops and priests, and persons of every degree; after having consecrated many churches and cemeteries; after having performed every ecclesiastical work throughout Ireland; after having bestowed jewels and food upon the mighty and the needy; after having founded churches and monasteries, for by him was repaired in Ireland every church which had been consigned to decay and neglect, and they had been

The synod of 1148.



CORMAC'S CROSIER

This crosier was found in Cormac's tomb, and is undoubtedly of contemporary origin with the chapel. It is 12 inches long and made of copper. The staff is destroyed

Good deeds of Malachias.

neglected from times remote; after leaving every rule and every good moral in the churches of Ireland in general; after having been the second time in the legateship; after having been fourteen years in the primacy; and after the fifty-fourth year of his age, resigned his spirit to Heaven on the second day of November and was buried in the monastery of Saint Bernard, at Clara Vallis [Clairvaux] in France."

83. The four archbishoprics of Ireland. At this time there were four archbishoprics in Ireland: at Armagh, Cashel, Dublin, and Tuam, in the provincial kingdoms of Ulster, Munster, Leinster, and Connaught respectively. The primacy belonged to Armagh, as it had been founded by Saint Patrick. A sentence in the Annals shows how the church revenues were raised at this time: "a horse from every chieftain, a sheep from every hearth."

The primacy of Armagh.

84. Struggle for the High Kingship continued. (See section 79.) The kingdoms of Ulster and Munster, headed by Donall, O'Loughlin, and Murkertagh O'Brien, fought steadily for the overlordship of Ireland for more than thirty years. Wearied of strife, these two kings finally left their thrones and entered monasteries, the king of Ulster taking refuge in a religious house at Derry, while the king of Munster sought retirement at the abbey of Lismore, in Waterford, where he died in 1119. The ex-king of Ulster passed away two years later. The strife between these two kingdoms weakened them both, and advantage was taken of this by Turlogh O'Conor, king of Connaught, who claimed the title of High King, and fought for it against Murkertagh O'Loughlin, king of Ulster, until his death in 1156. This Turlogh O'Conor is celebrated in the artistic history of Ireland as having ordered the making of

Turlogh O'Conor becomes High King.

the beautiful Cross of Cong, one of the finest examples of native metal and jewel work.

Builds the bridge of Athlone.

85. Reign of Roderick O'Conor. Turlogh O'Conor was succeeded by his son, Roderick O'Conor, who carried on the fight against Ulster. Several characteristic and important events and changes took place in his reign, which marks the close of this great and purely Irish epoch. Like all sovereigns of his time, he made many raids and incursions against the neighboring rulers, to bring back "a countless number of cows." With this end in view he undertook a work which, for those times, was a wonderful piece of construction: a pile bridge at Athlone, over the great river Shannon, in order to lead his army into Meath, a fertile field for his raids. This bridge was the first of its kind ever built in Ireland, and was in structure something like the famous bridge built by Julius Cæsar across the Rhine, or like modern wooden bridges built on pile foundations.

CROSS OF CONG

This cross was made in 1123 to enshrine a portion of the true cross for Turlogh O'Conor. It is made of oak covered with copper plates set with jewels

Attacks the Danes.

In 1162, an army was assembled by the king of Ulster, Murkertagh O'Loughlin, to march against At-Cliat, that is, Dublin, and attack the Norsemen and Leinstermen there. Roderick O'Conor joined the expedition, bringing an army of his own Connaughtmen and the men of Meath. The foray was successful, and "a peace was concluded between the Foreigners [Norsemen] and the Gaels; and six score ounces of gold were given by the Foreigners to O'Loughlin, and five score ounces of gold were paid by Dermot O'Melaghlin to Roderick O'Conor, for West Meath." Here we see the beginning of the modern method of war indemnities paid in money, as against the ancient system of cattle raiding.

Gold as money instead of cattle.

Murkertagh O'Loughlin died in 1166, and the claim of Roderick O'Conor to the overlordship was admitted without dispute. In the following year he convened a general assembly from all parts of Ireland. We have already described the great religious meeting, the church synod, called together by Archbishop Malachias in 1148. We now come to an equally representative civil assembly, the first which embraced the whole country. This is how the Annals describe it: "A great meeting was called together by Roderick O'Conor and the chiefs of Leat-Cuin, both lay and ecclesiastic, and the chiefs of At-Boy [the 'Yellow Ford' in Meath]. To it came the successor of Patrick, the archbishop of Connaught, the archbishop of Leinster, the lord of Brefny, the lord of Oriel, the king of Ulster, the king of Tara, and Ragnall, son of Ragnall, lord of the Foreigners [Norsemen]. The whole of their gathering and assemblage was nineteen thousand horsemen, of whom six thousand were Connaughtmen, four thousand with the lord of Brefny, two thousand with the king of Tara, four thousand with the lord of Oriel and the king of Ulster, two thousand with the chief of Offaly, and one thousand with the Foreigners of At-Cliat [Dublin]. They passed many good resolutions at this meeting respecting veneration for churches and clerics, and control of tribes and territories, so that women used to traverse Ireland alone; and a restoration of his prey was made by the chief of Offaly

Roderick's overlordship admitted.

The great civil assembly of 1167.

at the hands of the kings aforesaid. They afterwards separated in peace and amity, without battle or controversy, or without any one complaining of another at that meeting, in consequence of the prosperousness of the king, who had assembled these chiefs with their forces."

Roderick as an arbitrator.

In this year, a second assembly was called by Roderick O'Conor to settle a dispute as to the boundary line between the territories of two neighboring chiefs, both of the royal line of Ulster. The Annals say: "They arrived at Tir-Eogain [Tyrone], and allotted the part of it north of Slieve Gullion [now the eastern part of Derry] to Neil O'Loughlin for two hostages, and allotted the part of the country of the clan to the south of the mountain to Aed O'Neill for two other hostages." This dispute, half a century earlier, would have been settled by bloodshed.

86. Growth of national feeling. As a result of the great assembly convened by Roderick O'Conor, national feeling began to assert itself, and with it a recognition of the method of conciliation and mutual understanding, rather than an appeal to armed force. Roderick also established a fund for the instruction of the youth of Ireland and Scotland in literature.

SUMMARY

Malachi succeeded Brian Boru and ruled till 1022. Then followed a long struggle for control till Roderick O'Conor became High King in 1156. He held, in 1167, the first representative civil assembly of the whole country. Archbishop Malachias, who assembled the church synod of 1148, was the chief religious figure of the period. Ireland was at this time divided into five provinces. There were four archbishoprics. Progress in the fine arts was shown in Cormac's chapel and other works of art still preserved.

CHAPTER XII

THE COMING OF THE NORMANS

1169–1199

ENGLISH SOVEREIGNS:
Henry II, 1154–1189 Richard I, 1189–1199

87. The beginning of the Norman invasion. In the middle of the twelfth century, Dermot MacMurrogh was king of Leinster. We have found the kings of Leinster in former years repeatedly in league with the Danes of Dublin, against the kings of Meath and Connaught, and we are therefore prepared to find Dermot going even farther. In the year 1166, Dermot, who had been guilty of a series of violent actions, finally rendered himself so intolerable that Roderick O'Conor and other chiefs compelled him to surrender his kingdom and leave the country. Seeking vengeance, he fled to England and appealed to Henry II, duke of the Normans and king of the English, to help him, promising allegiance in return. Henry's mind was preoccupied with the struggle for his dominions in France, more than half of which country at that time acknowledged his rule. He therefore declined himself to undertake the reinstatement of Dermot, but permitted any of his subjects who were willing to engage in the adventure. Dermot immediately secured the help of Richard de Clare, earl of Pembroke, generally known as "Strongbow," who entered his service as a mercenary. To Strongbow Dermot promised the hand of his daugh-

Treason of Dermot MacMurrogh.

Seeks aid of Norman barons.

ter Eva in marriage, while two chiefs of the Welsh Geraldines, Maurice Fitzgerald and Robert Fitzstephen, were bought by promises of Irish land, to be won from Dermot's enemies. It was thus as mercenaries, and at the instigation of a renegade Irishman, that the Normans gained their first entrance into Ireland.

Attack on Wexford. 1169.

Fitzstephen made his first landing in one of the lesser Wexford harbors, having with him a hundred knights and six hundred archers. He joined his forces to those of Dermot MacMurrogh and they marched together to attack the city of Wexford. The town was protected by a wall, which was bravely defended by the garrison, who threw large stones and heavy beams on the heads of their assailants. The Normans were compelled to withdraw on that day, and left many of their men dead behind them, but they made their way to the harbor, and burned all the Irish ships that they found there. On the following day, as they were about to renew their assault, the clergy of Wexford, wishing to avoid further bloodshed, counselled the townsmen to surrender, and Wexford was given over to Fitzstephen and his allies. Dermot thus regained a foothold in his former territory. He then fulfilled his promises to his mercenary allies by making them grants of land.

88. Arrival of Strongbow, 1170. Roderick O'Conor, king of Connaught, wished to oppose the return of Dermot, but doubted his ability to meet him in the field. He therefore tried more pacific means, and, seeing the danger to Ireland from Dermot's example, he consented to accept Dermot's return, on condition that the latter should promise to dismiss his foreign friends. Dermot consented, in order to avoid an attack, but without any thought of keeping his promise.

Dermot's ambition had grown with his first success. He now determined to make himself king of the whole of Ireland, and proceeded to secure the help of Strongbow, who landed at Waterford in the summer of 1170, with about three thousand men. What followed is thus recorded in the Annals: "Robert Fitzstephen and Earl Strongbow came from Saxonland into Erin with a numerous force, and many knights and archers, in the army of Dermot MacMurrogh, to contest Leinster for him, and to disturb the Gaels of Erin in general; and MacMurrogh gave his daughter to Earl Strongbow for coming into the army. They took Wexford and Waterford by force . . . and they killed seven hundred persons there. An army was led by Roderick O'Conor with the lord of Brefny and the lord of Oriel against Leinster and the Foreigners aforesaid, and there was a challenge of battle between them for the space of three days." This contest was indecisive.

Lands at Waterford.

The most noteworthy event of Strongbow's first invasion was the plundering and slaughter of the Danes of Dublin by the new invaders. The earlier Norsemen, as we saw, were pagans; but before this time they had all been converted to Christianity. Filled with fear at the approach of Dermot and his allies, the Danes sent their archbishop, Laurence O'Toole, to negotiate terms of surrender for them. But while the terms were being discussed, the Normans attacked the Danes in their fortress, and slew great numbers of them.

Slaughter of the Danes at Dublin.

89. National resistance, 1170–1171. In the following year, Dermot of Leinster died of a lingering disease, regarded by his countrymen as a divine punishment for bringing the invaders. His allies, the Normans, with Strongbow as their leader, were hemmed in at Dublin.

NORMAN KNIGHT AND FOOT-SOLDIER

Archbishop O'Toole traversed the length and breadth of Ireland, calling on the provincial kings and chiefs to unite against the invaders; and presently a strong army under Roderick O'Conor was advancing against the Normans. After a two months' siege, during which Dublin suffered from famine, the Normans determined on a sortie. It was so successful that Roderick's army was driven back, and the Normans plundered his camp, taking provisions enough to supply the city for another year's siege.

90. Expedition of King Henry the Second, 1171–1172. While these events were going on, Henry II had reached a settlement of his affairs in the west of France, and found himself free to turn toward Ireland. Gathering a large army of some ten thousand men, under renowned Norman warriors, he put them on board a numerous fleet, and sailed to Dublin. The provincial kings and chiefs of Ireland believed that they were too weak to resist this formidable invasion, though, as we have already seen, Roderick O'Conor had a short time before gathered

Irish princes submit.

nearly twenty thousand horsemen with their chiefs to a general assembly. The chiefs made their submission to Henry, and gave hostages, as they had so often done to each other in their tribal wars. Henry rewarded his Norman followers by grants of land. To Sir Hugh de Lacy he granted Meath. Leinster was assigned to Strongbow, the city of Dublin excepted. Sir John de Courcy received a large district in the north, with the title of "Earl of Ulster." Henry himself added the title "King of the Irish" to that of "King of France and England," which he already bore. Dublin was given to a colony from the west of England, especially from the town of Bristol, and De Lacy was appointed governor.

Grants to Norman nobles.

Henry left Norman governors in all the chief cities, and, thinking that everything was secure, he sailed back to England. No sooner had he departed, than a series of struggles began between the Irish chiefs and the Norman intruders, and among the native chiefs themselves. Henry hoped to restore order by giving greater authority to Strongbow, and making him lord lieutenant, as he was the most powerful of the Norman invaders. By whatever name the king's representative in Ireland was called, his position was subject to a serious weakness. The king of England, fearing that his lord lieutenant might try to make himself king over Ireland, and an independent monarch, never gave him a sufficiently large force to make his position really secure. Neither the Norman nobles nor the Irish princes greatly heeded the commands of the lord lieutenant any more than they did those of the king of England except when he was actually present, at the head of an army. Norman nobles and Irish princes lived and ruled like inde-

Weakness of the Norman position.

Difficulties of the lord lieutenants.

pendent sovereigns in their respective districts, raiding and fighting among themselves, as in the preceding ages.

91. Who the Normans were. It should be clearly held in mind that these invaders were not English. They were neither Angles nor Saxons. They were, on the contrary, Normans, speaking French, with French family-names. The French Normans were the descendants of a band of Norse raiders very like those who devastated Lambay and Howth, who had gained a footing in the north of France under a celebrated chieftain, Rollo or Rolf, surnamed "the Ganger," that is, "the walker," because he was so tall that his feet touched the ground under his horse's sides. These Norse raiders of France settled in their new country, called Normandy in remembrance of their northern home, married French wives, and adopted the French tongue and the laws and customs of France. Under their great duke, William of Normandy, they had invaded England over a century earlier, vanquishing the English king, Harold, at Hastings in 1066. The Angles and Saxons were reduced to servitude, and England had a Norman king and a Norman nobility, speaking the French language, which was for a long time the official language of Britain. They looked to France as their native land, in which their sovereign owned his largest territory; and they regarded England as a recently conquered and vassal country. Three or four generations later, the De Clares, the De Lacys, and the De Courcys extended to Ireland the work of conquest which they had completed in England.

Descendants of Norse raiders.

Conquest of Britain.

Most of the invaders on these first expeditions were impoverished noblemen. The Norman king freely granted them lands belonging to the Irish tribes; and these settlers thus became the founders of the chief

"Anglo-Irish" families of later centuries. With their Irish lands these adventurers received Irish titles, adapted from those of the native chiefs. Thus the Fitzgeralds were, first, Barons of Offaly, later, Earls of Kildare, and finally Dukes of Leinster. Their kinsmen in the south were made Earls of Munster.

Quality of the Irish invaders.

92. Strongbow's term of government. On his return to England, Henry II appointed Richard de Clare, called Strongbow, lord lieutenant of Ireland. Most of the Irish princes had once more asserted their independence, and Strongbow determined to take active measures against them. His soldiers, whose pay was long in arrears, were discontented, and refused to march under any leader but their favorite, Raymond Fitzgerald, a brilliant officer, who allowed them to plunder to their hearts' content. Strongbow was forced to remove his own uncle from the command of the army, appointing Raymond Fitzgerald in his place. Then began the first Norman raid among the peaceful districts of Ireland. Raymond Fitzgerald led his men southward. On the southern Blackwater near Lismore, "the great fort," he seized a number of boats, and loaded them with plunder, sending them down the river and along the coast to the city of Waterford. He and his men drove a great number of cattle before them, the most valuable part of their plunder. The boats were attacked on their way by a fleet, half Irish, half Danish, from Cork; and the party of Raymond's men who were proceeding by land at the same time had to meet an onslaught from Dermot MacCarthy, prince of Desmond. Both these attacks were repulsed, and Raymond and his plunderers escaped with their booty.

Raymond Fitzgerald plunders Leinster.

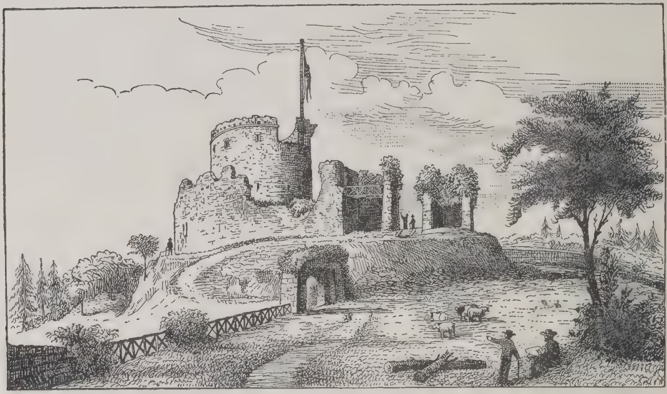
After this raid, Raymond Fitzgerald returned to his home in Wales. During his absence, Strongbow took the field against Donall O'Brien, king of Thomond, a descendant of Brian Boru, the victor of Clontarf. Donall was intrenched at Limerick, and, hearing of Strongbow's coming, he sent for aid to Roderick O'Conor, who came with his Connaughtmen to help him. They met the earl's army some thirty miles to the east of Limerick, near Thurles in Tipperary, and Strongbow was completely defeated, losing seventeen hundred men. "Strongbow," says the Annals, "proceeded in sorrow to his home at Waterford." Here he was besieged by the Irish armies, until Raymond Fitzgerald once more came to his aid. Raymond drove Donall O'Brien back to Limerick, and, by an impetuous attack, captured the city and put the defenders to the sword. A garrison was left there to uphold the Norman power.

Strongbow defeated at Thurles. 1174.

Fitzgerald takes Limerick. 1176.

Raymond Fitzgerald had enemies at court, who sought to arouse the distrust of Henry II, and to make him jealous of the brilliant general's success. The king even sent an order for his recall, but Raymond soon found an occasion to vindicate himself. The Irish armies made a vigorous attack on the Norman garrison at Limerick. Strongbow once more found that his army would follow no leader but Raymond, and sent the king word that Raymond must remain. Raymond made a forced march to the southwest, defeated Donall O'Brien, and relieved the Limerick garrison.

93. De Burgo's government. The king was still distrustful, however; and on Strongbow's death in the next year, 1176, the office of lord lieutenant was given, not to Raymond Fitzgerald, but to William de Burgo, whose family name is modernized as Burke. To assist William de Burgo in the government, Henry appointed a council of three Norman nobles: John de Courcy, Robert Fitzstephen, and Miles de Cogan. The lord lieutenant was disposed to adopt more peaceful methods, and discouraged the semi-independent warfare of leaders like Raymond. He was, therefore, very unpopular among the crowd of fortune-hunters about him. Chief among these was De Courcy, to whom King Henry had made a nominal grant of Ulster, where, however, he had little or no real authority. De Courcy determined to undertake the work of conquest on his own account, and left Dublin with an army of knights and archers, in all about a thousand men. In the beginning of February, 1177, he attacked Downpatrick, the chief stronghold of eastern Ulster. The town was taken by surprise, captured, and plundered. Before the end of the week, the prince of Ulster with a numerous army came against De Courcy,



DUNDRUM CASTLE

This castle, built by John de Courcy, is one of the best examples of the Norman method of establishing themselves in the country. The central tower is 46 feet in external diameter and the walls are 8 feet thick

The expedition of De Courcy.

Capture of Downpatrick. 1177.

and attempted to retake Downpatrick, but was defeated and slain, as were many other Ulster chieftains. De Courcy then built at Dundrum, seven miles south of Downpatrick, a strong Norman castle, with a lofty tower, as a centre of action against his opponents. In this he set the example which we shall find followed by the Norman chiefs, who thus gained an immense advantage over the Irish armies, with their less effective earthwork fortifications. De Courcy proceeded in his attempt to assert his authority over Ulster, now winning, now losing battles against the native chiefs, at one time being left with only eleven companions.

First Norman castle built.

94. Henry sends his son John to Ireland. By 1185, such disquieting reports of the state of Leinster reached King Henry that he determined to send over an expedition under his nineteen-year-old son, Prince John. This prince, bearing the title of Lord of Ireland, set out from England with a large company of adventurers. He landed at Waterford, where certain of the Irish chiefs had come to welcome him. Far from conciliating the chieftains, John and his companions spent eight months adding fuel to the flames, by their insulting manner and lawless behavior toward the Irish chiefs and people. The indignation of the chiefs, who had come with the intention of acknowledging Henry's overlordship, was now thoroughly aroused; they determined once more to attack the Normans, and succeeded in capturing a number of the recently built castles, and in completely routing Prince John's army. The chief leader of this war was Donall O'Brien of Thomond. King Henry was thoroughly disgusted with his son's failure, and ordered him to return, naming De Courcy as lord lieutenant of Ireland.

John defeated.

In Prince John's train there had been a certain Welsh priest, Gerald Barry, called in Latin Giraldus Cambrensis, that is, Gerald of Cambria, or Wales. This man, on his return to England, wrote a Latin history of the Norman invasion of Ireland, together with a description of the country, which contains much truth, mixed with many inaccuracies and fancies.

Giraldus Cambrensis.

Prince John tried to cast all the blame for the failure of the expedition on Hugh de Lacy, one of the best and wisest of the great Norman barons. This De Lacy, whose son was the rival of De Courcy, had brought upon himself the dangerous accusation of aiming to be king of Ireland, because he had married a daughter of Roderick O'Conor. He was assassinated one day by a young Irishman, to revenge his unlawful seizure of land belonging to the old monastery of Durrow, founded by Saint Columba.

Death of Hugh de Lacy, the elder.

95. De Courcy as lord lieutenant. During the whole time he was lord lieutenant, De Courcy was engaged in fighting. He began in 1198 by making an expedition against Connaught, much in the style of the old Danish raids, but was defeated with great loss by Conor, king of Connaught, and Donall O'Brien, king of Munster, and forced to retreat. He marched north in the hope of escaping his pursuers, only to find himself caught between two hostile forces, as the prince of Tyrconnell, or Donegal, had also come out against him. He finally reached Leinster with the remnant of his army.

First expedition to Connaught.

De Courcy's second expedition against the same province in 1200, as an ally of one of the native claimants to the disputed throne of Connaught, likewise ended in defeat. Hugh de Lacy the younger had joined him in this campaign, but the presence of these two distinguished Norman leaders failed to

Second expedition to Connaught.

secure success for their ally. Their army was caught in an ambuscade by the forces of the rival claimant, and almost annihilated. During their retreat across the waters of Lough Ree, the Connaught chief again attacked, and De Courcy escaped with only a few men.

The end of De Courcy.

De Lacy was lord justice, and therefore very jealous of De Courcy, and he did his utmost to bring the latter into disfavor with the king. In 1204, after much scheming, he succeeded in having De Courcy proclaimed a traitor, and orders were given for his arrest. His subsequent history is uncertain.

SUMMARY

In 1166, Dermot MacMurrogh, king of Leinster, was deposed by Roderick O'Conor and others. He sought aid from Henry II, duke of the Normans, and his Norman barons. The latter fitted up several expeditions, landed in Ireland, and captured the towns of Wexford and Waterford in 1169–70. Among these Norman barons were Fitzgerald, Fitzstephen, De Lacy, De Courcy, and the great Strongbow. Henry II came himself to Ireland in 1171, at the head of a large army, received the submission of the chiefs, and returned, leaving De Lacy as governor of the city of Dublin. Strongbow was appointed lord lieutenant in 1173. These invaders were French-speaking Normans who, just a century before, had conquered England, and who were now eager to enrich themselves from the spoils of Ireland. With no other aim than plunder, they made numerous successful raids through the country in spite of the opposition of Roderick and the Irish chiefs. Thus, by the year 1200, the Normans had gained a footing in Ireland, but had accomplished nothing that could properly be called a conquest.

CHAPTER XIII

CONSOLIDATION OF NORMAN POWER

1199–1318

English Sovereigns:

John, 1199–1216	Edward I, 1272–1307
Henry III, 1216–1272	Edward II, 1307–1327

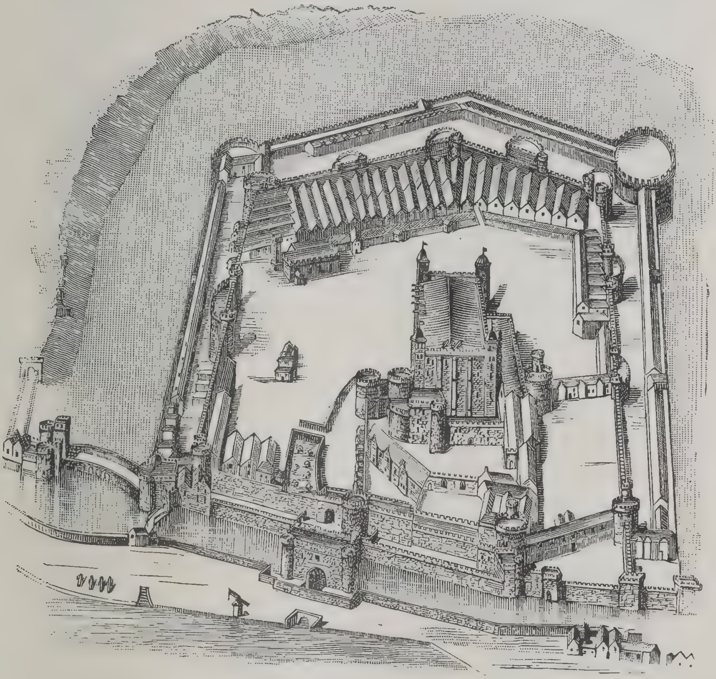
96. The genius of the Normans. When William the Norman gained possession of England, one of his first acts was to secure his position in the capital by building the Tower of London. This immense stronghold, which frowns upon London even to-day, after the lapse of nearly nine centuries, is typical of the Norman genius. It illustrates the method by which the Normans secured their position in England, and later in Ireland. William himself built about fifty other great Norman castles throughout the length and breadth of the Saxon land which he had conquered, and in these castles placed his feudal nobles, who acknowledged him as their lord and master.

The Tower of London.

When the Norman warriors came to Ireland, they were at first mercenaries of Irish princes like Dermot MacMurrogh; but they were soon granted land, either by the Irish chiefs who sought their services, or by the king of England, after he had asserted his claim to be overlord of Ireland. The Norman warriors immediately put in practice the lesson taught by William the Conqueror. They built just such keeps and castles as the

Tower of London, though not on so large a scale, and many of their strongholds are still standing. The plan of these castles included an outer wall, encircled by a deep moat or canal filled with water, which surrounded the whole castle, and could be crossed only by a drawbridge. This bridge could be drawn up from within the castle, and when it was drawn up, all access from without was cut off. The strong outer wall of the fortress was pierced by a single doorway,

Norman castles in Ireland.



THE TOWER OF LONDON
From the earliest drawing

high enough for a knight on horseback to ride through without dismounting. This doorway could be closed by an iron portcullis, a gate running in grooves in the wall, which was raised by chains from a windlass above. When let down, this strong iron gate could not be pushed open, as it was held in place by the heavy grooved stones on either side. Often the lower edge of this portcullis was armed with a row of spikes, so that, should any of the enemy be underneath at the time it was lowered in haste, they would be transfixed and killed. Along the top of the outer wall of the fortress there were openings for the bowmen to shoot through, and these openings give the walls the toothed appearance, like the edge of a saw, which makes them so picturesque in modern landscapes. Inside the wall were dwelling-houses and storehouses, and the whole was dominated by a keep or central stronghold, a high tower with very thick walls, also pierced for archers, into which the garrison could retire, if the outer fortress was taken.

Castle-builders.

De Courcy was one of the greatest builders of Norman castles in Ireland, and one great stronghold of his over Dundrum Bay in Down is to-day almost as perfect as during his lifetime. The other great Normans, De Lacy, De Clare, and the rest, were not behind De Courcy. They erected Norman keeps and castles at every point where they gained a footing; and it was the presence of these fortresses of stone which made it almost impossible for the Irish chiefs to drive out the Normans, as they had earlier driven out the Norsemen.

Norman armor and discipline.

The use of armor in battle was another evidence of the same instinct of self-defence. The coats of mail of the Norman knights are even more imperishable than their castles, and they are to be found in every museum to-day. A third element of strength was the sense of rigid discipline which the Normans brought with them to England and Ireland, and which was an inheritance from the ancient Roman armies. In this they excelled the Irish tribal forces, just as they excelled the Saxons at the battle of Hastings, and many of their victories in Ireland were due rather to superior order than to superior valor. The Irish had never submitted to discipline, which ran counter to their tribal instincts. They fought in masses rather than in regular ranks, and had no system of tactics. They still adhered to the habits of warfare developed in an earlier age, relying on the wildness of the country, on the forests and bogs, for their defence, rather than on fortifications of stone. Later, when the sons of Ireland mastered the principle of ordered war, they became very formidable warriors, winning battles in every part of Europe, and leading the armies of many nations. The Norman invaders brought with them the French language which they had learned in Normandy, and many French knightly traditions. It is worth remembering that the Conqueror's great grandson, Henry II, who was the first invading sovereign, had larger territories in France than in England, and that the part of Ireland over which he exercised real authority, a very small part, was one of the divisions of a realm which stretched from the south of Scotland to the north of Spain.

Norman ideas French.

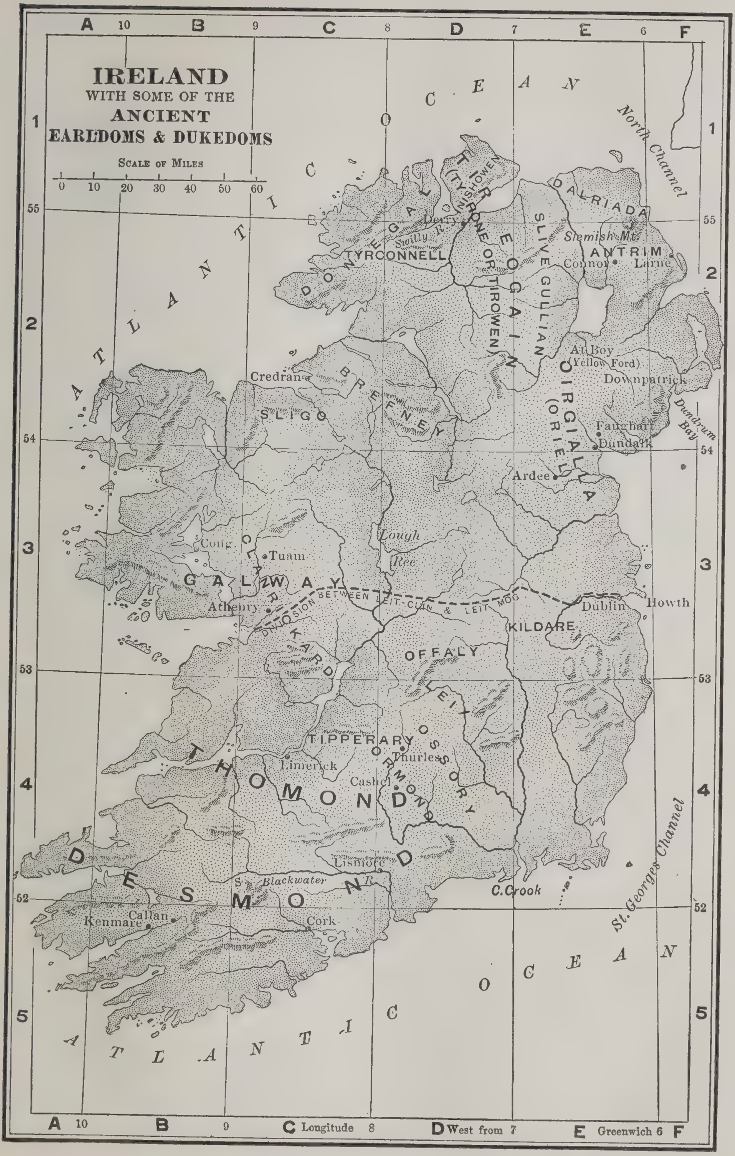
97. King John comes to Ireland. King John came to the throne of England in 1199. He remembered the condition of confusion and turmoil which reigned in Ireland. He therefore determined to go there again, to attempt to bring order out of chaos. He did not carry out his intention until 1210, however; in that year he assembled a formidable army

Cessation of hostilities.

and sailed to Waterford, landing at Cape Crook. His arrival was the signal for a general cessation of hostilities. Even the most restless of the Norman chiefs left the native chieftains unmolested, and stopped quarrelling amongst themselves, during the visit of their king. John had thus no fighting to do, and devoted himself to establishing the principles of civil law, and asserting his authority. He divided the part of Ireland in which his power was recognized into twelve counties, that is to say, districts under the authority of a count, a name and title brought by the Normans from France. The twelve counties formed by King John are Dublin, Kildare, Meath, Louth, Carlow, Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Kerry, Limerick, and Tipperary. Five of the twelve, namely, Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, and Limerick, were old Norse or Danish districts, thus showing that the Normans were able to gain a footing first in the regions already weakened by Danish inroads. We shall speak later of the formation of other counties, as the central authority was extended. John founded law courts, and appointed magistrates, who were ordered to administer Norman law. An element of strife was thus introduced, which produced much harm and misery for centuries, since the Norman law was founded on principles, largely borrowed from Rome, which were not in harmony with the traditional law of Ireland, as developed by the Brehons. It is true that John intended to apply the Norman law only to Normans and English settled in Ireland, but this distinction was later lost sight of, and the imported legal system was gradually extended to English and Irish alike. For many years to come, the native Irish remained outside the jurisdiction of the newly established courts. John returned to England,

Formation of counties in Ireland.

Introduction of Norman law.



IRELAND
WITH SOME OF THE
ANCIENT
EARLDOMS & DUKEDOMS

leaving Ireland fairly quiet, and this condition was maintained until his death in 1216.

98. Norman law. The chief principle of Norman law which came into opposition with Irish traditions concerned the possession of land. Generally speaking, the districts of Ireland were the possession of the tribe, that is, of the supposed or real descendants of a common ancestor, who held the land in common. Their elected chief had a separate portion of the land for his own use, and was absolute owner only of this separate portion. It descended, not necessarily to his eldest son, but to his elected successor. The Norman principle was quite different. William of Normandy asserted his direct ownership of all the land of England, and made grants of it to his followers and officers. They became complete owners of the soil, which passed to their eldest sons, according to the system called primogeniture. The Norman lord of the land was thus in a much stronger position than the Irish tribal chief. He was complete owner of the whole region under his authority, and he could be certain that it would pass undivided to his son. All disputes of succession were avoided, and the estate was preserved intact. It is evident, of course, that here was an element of strength, similar to the great Norman castles; and these two things were joint causes of the physical and moral power of the Norman invaders. It is equally evident that this strength was gained by decreasing the rights of the tribe, who, under the Norman system, became mere tenants of the lord, instead of free warriors owning their own land. In exactly the same way, the Norman system of inheritance often did great injustice to the younger sons, who were, perhaps, the most gifted, but who received little or nothing from

Irish land customs.

Norman system.

Effect of these systems on the people.

their father, while the eldest son received everything. The Irish chief, on the contrary, was elected, so that the worthiest and strongest was put in power. The coming of King John marks the beginning of the conflict between these two legal principles.

99. Conditions in Leinster and Meath, 1216–1315. From the accession of John's son, as Henry III, in 1216, to the invasion of Edward Bruce, in 1315, that is, for exactly a century, fighting went on incessantly in Ireland. The great Norman lords carried on a series of savage struggles among themselves, each trying to seize the estates and wealth of the others; they also joined in the traditional quarrels of the native princes, aiding one side or the other, and receiving a share of the plunder. Typical of these struggles was "the war of Meath," which broke out in 1224 between two Norman families, the De Lacys and the Maréchals or Marshalls of Leinster, and which did not end until Meath was completely devastated. The "war of Kildare" was a similar struggle. When William Marshall, who had taken a part in the "war of Meath," died, his estates passed to his brother Richard. Richard Marshall had a quarrel with the English king, and fled from England to Ireland, where he hoped to escape pursuit. Three powerful Norman lords, Geoffrey Marisco, Maurice Fitzgerald, and Hugh de Lacy entered into an agreement to attack Richard Marshall and divide his estates. They invited him to meet them in Kildare, and in a pretended quarrel attacked him and wounded him so severely that he died shortly after. When Henry III heard of this treacherous act, he banished Geoffrey Marisco and executed his son, who had also been implicated in the plot.

The wars of Meath and Kildare.

100. Affairs in Connaught. In Connaught, the native chiefs were still dominant. Here a bitter struggle for the kingship of the western provinces was fought out amongst various members of the O'Conor family, the descendants and relatives of Roderick O'Conor. The Marshalls, De Burgos, and other Norman lords took part in this quarrel, because they saw in it opportunities of plunder. In 1249, Phelim, one of Roderick's nephews, succeeded in seizing and holding the throne of Connaught against all opponents, Norman and Irish alike. He reigned over the western province for sixteen years, until his death in 1265, showing the continuity of Irish tradition and kingship, side by side with Norman rule.

Phelim O'Conor in Connaught.

It must be remembered that the life and culture of the Irish tongue continued unabated. Poems were composed, and the poems of olden days were recited; the harpers practised their art in the halls of the chiefs; the Brehons settled questions of law; and, for centuries to come, the intellectual and moral life of the purely native Ireland continued in an unbroken stream.

101. The state of Ulster. In Ulster, things were not less disturbed than in Leinster and Connaught. Maurice Fitzgerald aimed at the complete subjugation of the northern province, and, for this purpose, led an army north through Connaught. He had gone as far as Credran, near Sligo, when he was met and defeated by Godfrey O'Donnell, lord of Tyrconnell. Both leaders were wounded in the fight, the Norman so seriously that he died shortly after. O'Donnell was disabled by his wound, and his army was left without a leader for several months. Brian O'Neill, prince of Tyrone, O'Donnell's old rival, seized the opportunity and invaded Tyrconnell, but was defeated at the river Swilly. Godfrey O'Donnell was too weak to lead his army, but,

Battle of Credran. 1257.

in order to give courage to his men, he had himself carried to battle with his army. As a result of this exertion and exposure, he died shortly after. In 1260, the Ulster chiefs made some efforts to unite against the Normans, under the leadership of Brian O'Neill. Their efforts were unsuccessful, however, for they were defeated in a hard fought battle at Downpatrick, and Brian O'Neill and several other Irish leaders were slain.

Battle of Downpatrick.

102. Troubles in Munster. In Munster, the fiercest fighting took place between the Norman Geraldines and the old Irish family of the MacCarthys of Desmond, who were roused to opposition by the perpetual encroachments of the newcomers. In the year 1261, the MacCarthys won a battle at Callan, near Kenmare. They then proceeded to overthrow the Norman strongholds throughout the south of Munster; but, as happened too often with the Irish chieftains, they soon lost through lack of unity what they had gained by valor and hard fighting. These rivalries and contests, which were politically inconclusive, were nevertheless the causes of limitless evil to the land. The masses of the people, whether of the old Irish race, or the English retainers of the Norman newcomers, asked for nothing better than to farm their lands in peace. These were the people who suffered most, not only from the direct evils of fighting, but even more from the famines which followed the wholesale destruction of their crops, and the carrying off of their herds; and from the pestilences which came in the wake of famine, sickness finding easy victims among multitudes of half-starved and emaciated men and women.

Battle of Callan.

103. The invasion of Edward Bruce. In 1314, Robert Bruce gained a victory over the English king, Edward

II, at Bannockburn in Stirlingshire, and thus established the independence of Scotland. The news of this defeat of the English armies so roused the Irish of the north that they decided to make another effort to drive out the Normans, and invited Edward Bruce, brother of the Scottish king, to come over as their leader. The proposal was accepted, and in the month of May, 1315, Edward Bruce landed at Larne, in Antrim, with six thousand Scottish warriors, cousins of the Irish, and speaking the same tongue. He was met by an Irish army under Donall O'Neill, and the two leaders joined their forces. They at once proceeded against the Normans of Ulster, and won several battles. In order to deprive their opponents of food and shelter, they burned houses and devastated fields, thus causing great misery to the common people. Richard de Burgo, the "red earl" of Ulster, with Sir Edmund Butler, the lord justice, led an army against the Scottish and Irish forces. A contest of great cruelty and severity was now begun. The path of the Scottish and Irish army, as well as that of the Normans, was surrounded by misery and suffering. Though there was a famine that year, and a general failure of the crops, orders were nevertheless given by the commanders of both armies to destroy all food except what was required for their own support, regardless of the starvation inevitably inflicted upon the people. Phelim O'Conor, the younger, king of Connaught, at first joined De Burgo, but was soon compelled to return to Connaught, on account of an outbreak among his own people. The Norman force was thus greatly weakened, and De Burgo was completely defeated by Bruce at Connor, in Antrim, a short distance to the south of Slemish Mountain, where the apostle of Ireland once tended his master's flocks.

Bruce lands at Larne.

Defeats De Burgo at Connor.

104. Bruce is crowned king. Soon after this battle, Bruce was crowned king of Ireland, and, marching into Meath, defeated a Norman force of fifteen thousand men at Kells, and again, in the early part of the year 1316, routed the Normans in Kildare. By this time, Phelim O'Conor had restored order in Connaught, and now gave in his adherence to Bruce, and led his army to Athenry in Galway. Here he suffered the severest defeat that had been inflicted on any Irish army since the first coming of the Normans. In a battle against William de Burgo, eleven thousand of the Connaughtmen were killed, including Phelim himself and most of his nobles.

Battle of Athenry. 1316.

In 1317, Edward Bruce was joined by his brother, Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, but little was accomplished through his help. The two brothers attempted to reduce Dublin and afterwards Limerick, two of the strongest fortresses in the hands of the Normans, but failed in both attacks. Their army suffered greatly on its long marches through a country previously devastated. Many of the soldiers died of cold and famine, and this incessant hardship discouraged the hitherto indomitable Scottish king. Believing that any more complete victory in Ireland was impossible, he returned to his own country, leaving Edward to face his troubles alone.

Bruce repulsed at Dublin and Limerick.

KING JOHN'S CASTLE, LIMERICK

This castle was built by order of King John, and was one of the most formidable castles in Ireland

105. End of Bruce's invasion. The closing battle of Edward Bruce's invasion was fought at Faughart, north of Dundalk, in October, 1318. The Normans under De Bermingham had a stronger force, but they would probably have lost the battle, had not one of their leaders met and killed Edward Bruce in a hand-to-hand combat. Their leader gone, the Scottish troops wavered, and were defeated. This ended Edward Bruce's invasion.

Battle of Faughart. 1318.

106. Condition of the country after the invasion. Bruce's invasion left the country in a condition of misery from which it did not recover for generations. So many of the Normans in Ulster had been killed that the native chiefs once more came into power. This was true to some extent also in other parts of Ireland. Famine and pestilence were widespread, and lawlessness was more prevalent than before. The Anglo-Irish government, weakened as it was by Bruce's invasion, daily lost ground. The Normans were no longer able to extend their influence to new districts. Moreover, the Normans were daily growing closer to the Irish in thought, feeling, and language, and frequent intermarriages hastened this blending. Many of the Norman lords, at this time and later, were distinguished by their knowledge of the language and literature of Ireland. Thus we find the Annals recording the death of "Garrett, Earl of Desmond, a cheerful and courteous man, who excelled all the Normans and many of the Irish in the knowledge of the Irish language, poetry, history, and other learning."

Weakness of the Norman government.

Blending of the races.

107. Monastic orders and abbeys. We must remember that the possession of a common religion greatly helped this work of assimilation. All the combatants, Irish and Norman alike, were Catholics, and many of the foremost warriors of either party were fervent devotees of their religion. The Normans represented the culture of the continent, and were the means of introducing into Ireland a number of religious orders of continental origin. These religious orders were founded by a group of great men like Saint Francis of Assisi, whose followers were named Franciscans in his honor; Saint Dominick, a Spaniard of an old Castilian family, who established the Dominicans; and Saint Bernard the younger, of Clairvaux in France, who gained great influence for the Cistercian order founded by Saint Robert at Citeaux in Burgundy, a town called in Latin Cistercium, whence the order took its name.

Saints Francis, Dominick, and Bernard.

HOLYCROSS ABBEY

This is situated at Thurles in Tipperary, and dates back to 1182

All these orders seem to have built their monastic establishments on a common plan: a cruciform or cross-formed church symbolized the source of their inspiration. The choir was toward the east,

The abbeys.

whence the Light had come. The nave, or main body of the church, was entered by the great western door, and the arms of the cross, or transepts, extended to the north and south. From one of the transepts, a side door generally led to the domestic buildings: the dormitory, where they slept; the refectory, where they ate; and the chapter-house, where the friars or brothers assembled, under the presidency of the abbot. There were also smaller buildings, storerooms, granaries, and workrooms. The church was the centre of all things, and under the stones of its floor the friars were at last laid to rest, while those who survived them carved their tombs and epitaphs.

Centres of learning.

These abbeys were the homes of culture and art, as well as of devotion and learning, throughout the whole period of turmoil we have described, and for the next two or three centuries. They are, indeed, among the great art monuments of Ireland, and there is a world of beauty in their graceful arches, slender pillars with rare and fanciful carving, and beautiful windows with many lights. Into these strong yet delicate fabrics of stone, their builders worked that art inspiration which an earlier age had embodied in the finely-wrought chalices and intricately interlaced illuminations of the sacred manuscripts.

SUMMARY

The Normans inherited the Roman power of conquest through discipline. As they gained a more extensive footing in Ireland they secured their position by building castles and keeps of stone against which the power of the Irish was unavailing. Fighting between the two races was incessant, and, in 1210, King John headed an expedition to restore order and peace. He divided that part of the country under English influence into twelve counties, and introduced Norman law, which was directly opposed to the Irish law of inheritance, and this difference later became the cause of much bloodshed.

For a hundred years, from 1216 to 1315, Ireland was kept in a continuous state of turmoil by quarrels between the Irish chiefs and the Norman barons, and by fighting among the Irish themselves. Meath, Connaught, Ulster, and Munster were successively devastated, and the country suffered years of famine and pestilence. In 1315, Edward Bruce was invited by the northern Irish to be their king. He landed at Larne with a Scotch army and was joined by Donall O'Neill and the native Irish. The combined forces won several battles against the Normans, and Bruce was crowned king. He was killed in the battle of Faughart, in 1318. Bruce's invasion left the Norman government for the time being in a very weak condition.

Ireland owes to the Normans the introduction of the religious orders of Franciscans, Dominicans, and Cistercians, all of whom built many beautiful abbeys, the ruins of which are still standing in many places.

CHAPTER XIV

NORMAN RAIDS TO ENGLISH RULE

1318–1485

ENGLISH SOVEREIGNS:

Edward II, 1307–1327
Edward III, 1327–1377
Richard II, 1377–1399
Henry IV, 1399–1413
Henry V, 1413–1422
Henry VI, 1422–1461
Edward IV, 1461–1483
Richard III, 1483–1485

108. Old and new invaders. By the beginning of the fourteenth century, the government of England had ceased to be exclusively Norman, and was gradually becoming more truly English in institutions, law, and language. English literature was blending the older tongue of the Angles and Saxons with the French imported by the Normans from France, and a mixed speech, half Germanic, half Latin in origin, was being formed, of great flexibility, color, and strength. The conquered English were absorbing and assimilating their conquerors.

This change naturally affected Ireland. The first comers from Britain had been Norman knights like De Lacy and De Courcy, with French names, and speaking French. They often married Irish wives, a daughter of Roderick O'Conor thus becoming the mother of one branch of the Fitzgeralds. The children of these marriages of course learned Irish as a mother-tongue, and it is safe to say that many of these Celto-Normans never knew a word of English, passing directly from Norman-French to Irish. The common religion drew them closer to their adopted country, and we find Irish princes and Norman nobles vying with each other in founding the early Cistercian and Franciscan abbeys. Many of these first settlers became so completely acclimated, and felt themselves so much at home, that they took Irish names, as well as the Irish tongue, and of them it was said that they were "more Irish than the Irish themselves."

109. Feuds between the Norman and English settlers. As Britain became more English, a new race of invaders began to come to Ireland, no longer Norman, but distinctively English, in thought and speech. As they were much more in harmony with conditions then prevailing in England, they were constantly favored by the Dublin government at the expense of the older Norman families. A keen rivalry grew up between the two elements, and the English newcomers spoke contemptuously of the older Normans as the "degenerate English." A result of this hostility was the quarrel between the Gernons and Savages, from among the newer English on the one side, and the De Bermingham family on the other. Sir John de Bermingham, who had defeated Edward Bruce at the battle of Faughart, together with his brothers and nephews, and a number of his followers, a hundred and sixty in all, were treacherously murdered by his rivals at Bragganstown near Ardee in Louth, in the year 1329.

"Degenerate English."

Another similar affair happened one Sunday morning in 1333. Young De Burgo, called the Dun Earl of Ulster, was on his way to church at Carrickfergus on the north shore of Belfast Lough. He was attacked and murdered by Richard de Mandeville, his uncle by marriage. As De Burgo was a great favorite with the Norman families, they avenged his death by killing all persons suspected of having a part

Murder of De Burgo. 1333.

in the murder, so that nearly three hundred of De Mandeville's followers were slain. De Burgo had vast estates in Ulster and Connaught, and at his death this territory fell to his daughter, then an infant. Two kinsmen of the Dun Earl, seeing that under Irish law, with its principle of election, the vast estates would probably fall to them, and not to the helpless girl, determined to seize the property. They announced that they had broken off their allegiance to England and English law, and in all things adopted the life and customs of the Irish. They founded two powerful lines of the Burke family.

110. "The Pale" and the "Black Rents." The English settlement in the immediate neighborhood of Dublin, which later came to be known as the "Pale" (meaning "an inclosure," the same word as "paling," a fence, from an embankment which was built around it in the fifteenth century), was the only region which was really subject to England, and was now the one stronghold of English government in Ireland. Wars, famine, and pestilence had so weakened the inhabitants of this small district that they were no longer able to defend themselves. The powerful Irish chieftains made the English of the Pale pay tribute for protection from attacks by bodies of Irish raiders; and this tribute, which was called "Black Rent," was sometimes paid even by the Dublin government.

111. Weakness of the English government. By 1330, the English government at Dublin was so weak that the lord lieutenant called in the help of Maurice Fitzgerald, one of the powerful Norman lords, to ward off the attacks of the Irish chiefs, and gave him the title of first Earl of Desmond. Although Fitzgerald won a few battles for the English, his presence did more harm than good, for he quartered his immense army of ten thousand men on the poor settlers of the Pale. Furthermore, he permitted his soldiers to pay themselves in money and food, wherever and whenever they could find them. The result was the dire impoverishment and almost complete extinction of the settlement. The colonists left the Pale in hundreds, and returned to England. The Irish chiefs daily regained something of their lost power. The poor people, both English settlers and native Irish, were equally miserable. The great Norman barons, careless of everything but their own interests, and fortified in their strongholds, were becoming more and more formidable. Edward III made three unsuccessful attempts to break the power of these barons between the years 1331 and 1344, but none of the governors sent by him to Dublin were able to accomplish anything. The strong castles were as effective against the Dublin armies as against the Irish chiefs, and the barons preserved their position of almost independent sovereignty for nearly two centuries more.

Strength of the great barons.

112. Legal injustice. The Normans and the Irish had begun to mingle, in many places living together in comparative peace. There was, however, one powerful influence always at work to make them enemies rather than friends: namely, the condition of the law. Ever since the first coming of the Normans, there had been two codes of law, the English and the Brehon. (See sections 97, 98.) The former was for the colonists only; no Irishman could seek its protection. The result was that an Irishman injured by an Englishman could not seek redress under English law, and the Englishman was not compelled to submit to Brehon law. On the other hand, if the Irishman were the offender, he was at once tried by English law and punished. Thus all the native Irish were liable to licensed persecution. The Irish repeatedly asked that they might receive

Two codes of law.

equal protection under English law, and Edward I and Edward III had been willing to grant this demand. But the great barons, realizing that their own power would thereby be lessened, had persuaded the king to refuse the petition of the Irish.

113. Statute of Kilkenny, 1367. Not satisfied with these existing causes of separation between the Irish and the English, the third son of Edward III, Lionel, duke of Clarence, when lord lieutenant, introduced a new law in 1367, called the Statute of Kilkenny, which widened the gulf between the two races. Lionel had married the daughter of the Dun Earl of Ulster, whose murder has been recorded. He thus acquired the titles of Earl of Ulster and Lord of Connaught, through his wife. He was, however, full of bitter hatred to the Irish, and not without cause. He had been in Ireland three times before this, twice as lord lieutenant, in which office he had several times suffered defeat at the hands of the Irish, and thus became convinced that the natives could never be subdued and brought under English law. He therefore went to the opposite extreme, and tried to make laws which would cut off all intercourse between the settlers and the natives.

Introduced by the Duke of Clarence.

The Statute of Kilkenny was intended forever to separate the English settlers from their "Irish enemies," as the natives were called. Some of its principal clauses were: —

Principal provisions.

Marriages between the two races were forbidden, as high treason, liable to punishment by death.

An Englishman adopting any Irish custom or mode of dress was to be punished by imprisonment and loss of his lands.

Where Irish and English were living in the same community, the Irish were required to use the English language, while hitherto the settlers had much oftener adopted the speech of the country.

Adherence to the Brehon law was considered treason.

No Englishman should make war on the Irish unless with permission of the government, so that the Irish might be held responsible for all disturbances.

No native priest could preach in an English church, or be admitted into an English monastery in Ireland.

Irish bards were to be regarded as spies, and were not to be received.

Other provisions were equally severe.

Law not enforced.

It is easy to see that such a law could not be strictly enforced. Throughout the greater part of Ireland there was no way to compel obedience to it. The powerful barons ignored it altogether. The authority of the Dublin government did not extend a mile beyond the Pale. England was at this time too completely absorbed by the Hundred Years' War begun by Edward III, who claimed the throne of France, to pay much attention to Ireland.

114. Art MacMurrogh Kavanagh. One of the most heroic Irishmen and bravest defenders of his country in the fourteenth century, and a man who long boldly opposed Edward's successor, Richard II, was Art MacMurrogh Kavanagh, the native king of Leinster. He had married a daughter of Maurice Fitzgerald, fourth earl of Kildare. Under the Statute of Kilkenny, Fitzgerald's daughter forfeited her titles and property by this marriage. In addition, the Black Rent hitherto paid to Art MacMurrogh was stopped by the Dublin council. Art was furious, and began to burn and plunder, until his Black Rent was restored as being the lesser of two evils.

115. First Expedition of Richard II, in 1394. Meanwhile Richard II was preparing the largest expedition ever yet sent to Ireland. Shakespeare makes him announce his intention thus : —

> "We will ourself in person to this war.
> And, for our coffers, with too great a court,
> And liberal largesse, are grown somewhat light,
> We are enforced to farm our royal realm ;
> The revenue whereof shall furnish us
> For our affairs in hand: if that come short,
> Our substitutes at home shall have blank charters;
> Whereto, when they shall know what men are rich,
> They shall subscribe them for large sums of gold,
> And send them after, to supply our wants;
> For we will make for Ireland presently."

And again, speaking of his uncle, John of Gaunt, brother of Lionel, duke of Clarence : —

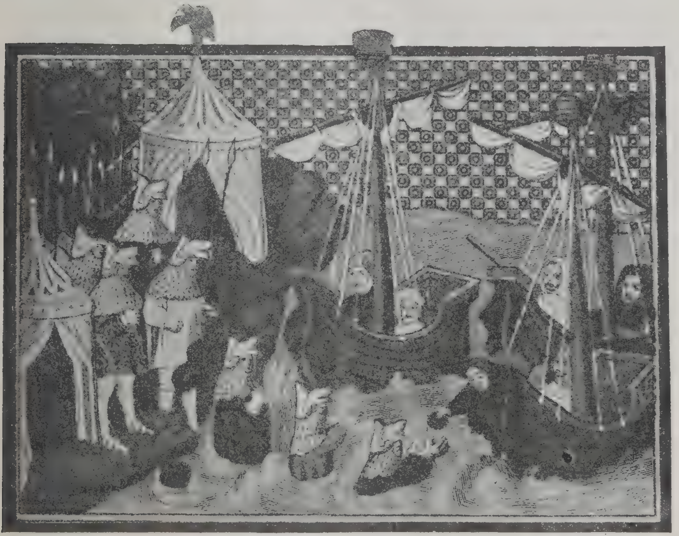
> "Now put it, Heaven, in his physician's mind
> To help him to his grave immediately!
> The lining of his coffers shall make coats
> To deck our soldiers for these Irish wars."

Lands at Waterford.

Richard landed at Waterford in October, 1394, with a force of thirty-four thousand men, determined to punish Art MacMurrogh. The latter, undismayed, continued to devastate the country about Dublin, putting all possible obstacles in the way of Richard's advance. But the Irish chiefs soon learned that Richard had a vast army with him, and recognized that they could not successfully oppose him. Therefore seventy or more of them, including Art MacMurrogh, came to his camp, and made formal submission to him. There was great rejoicing in Dublin and throughout the Pale, and the security thus gained lasted during Richard's stay in Ireland. The king realized that the great barons were the source

Four Irish chiefs knighted.

of the most widespread evils, but did nothing effective to curb their power. Richard knighted four Irish chiefs, O'Neill of Ulster, O'Conor of Connaught, MacMurrogh of Leinster, and O'Brien of Thomond, or North Munster. He then returned to England, leaving his authority in the hands of his cousin, Roger Mortimer, earl of March, at that time the recognized heir to the English crown. His expedition had cost an immense sum, but it accomplished nothing.



SHIPS RELIEVING RICHARD II'S ARMY ON THE WICKLOW COAST
Taken from a contemporary French manuscript (1399) in the British Museum, which gives a metrical account of Richard II's invasion

MacMurrogh's rebellion.

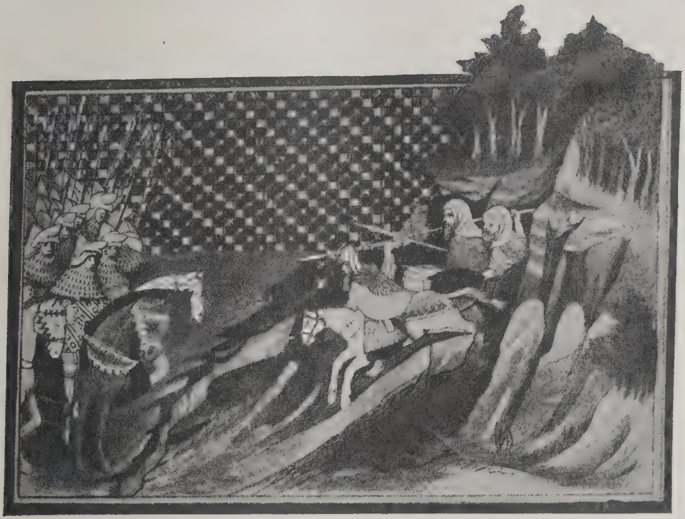
116. Richard's second expedition to Ireland, 1399. No sooner had the king departed than war broke out again, and, at the battle of Kells, in 1397, Art MacMurrogh defeated the English under the Earl of March. The Earl of March was killed,

Richard's disastrous march.

Conference of MacMurrogh and Gloucester.

and Richard, eager to avenge him, at once prepared a second expedition against Ireland, from which he was to be recalled to find that his crown had been seized by Henry of Bolingbroke, who reigned as Henry IV. He again landed at Waterford, in May, 1399, and began the march to Dublin. Art MacMurrogh and his Irish army, as before, opposed him at every step of the way. Richard left the open marshy country and entered the forests that stretched down from the Wicklow mountains. Art MacMurrogh quickly took advantage of this error. He led his three thousand men through the woods, steadily retiring before Richard, subjecting him to numberless harassing attacks, but never giving him battle in the open. The English king was ill supplied with provisions ; he was perplexed by the difficulties of the country, where forests and marshes alternated, and compelled to meet incessant attacks. Richard completely lost his way, and his army was on the verge of starvation, when he finally emerged at a point on the Wicklow coast, far to the south of Dublin. Here three ships from Dublin brought provisions, which were the means of saving the army, Richard followed the coast northward toward Dublin, with Art MacMurrogh's army still hovering close by, and attacking him at every opportunity. MacMurrogh agreed to meet one of Richard's representatives, but a discussion held between him and the Earl of Gloucester was without result. Richard was wroth, and swore he would never leave Ireland until he had captured MacMurrogh, but, on his arrival at Dublin, he was met by the news of Bolingbroke's uprising, and returned to England to find that he had lost his throne.

117. Close of Art MacMurrogh's career. After the departure of the English king, Art MacMurrogh became so formidable that the government decided to attempt a reconciliation, and agreed to compensate him for the forfeiture of his wife's estates. The restless Leinster chief remained at peace for a short period, but his love of war soon got the better of his pacific resolutions, and he renewed his raids, plundering Carlow and Castledermot in 1405, and continuing through Wexford. In a battle near Callan in Kilkenny, in 1407, he suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the lord lieutenant, Sir Stephen Scroope. Art MacMurrogh remained quiet for a short time after this defeat, but in 1413 he was once more in the field. He attacked the colony of Wexford in this year, and again, three years later, won a decisive battle over the combined forces of the English. This was



MEETING OF ART MACMURROGH KAVANAGH AND GLOUCESTER

From manuscript mentioned on page 131. MacMurrogh is here described as "a fine large man wonderfully active. To look at him he seemed very stern and fierce and an able man" his last fight, as he died in 1417. Art MacMurrogh Kavanagh had ruled the Irish of Leinster for forty-two years, and, in spite of all efforts to subdue him, had maintained his power and authority close to the English Pale. This is an accurate measure of the extent of England's power in the Ireland of the fourteenth century.

118. Conditions under Henry V and Henry VI, 1413–1461. For the next thirty years, the condition of Ireland remained much the same. The kings of England were still too completely engrossed by the Hundred Years' War with France to pay much attention to Ireland. The authority of the Dublin government dwindled to almost nothing. The great barons were stronger than before. The native chiefs, as of old, were fighting among themselves and against the English lords. During the reign of Henry V, Sir John Talbot was sent over, and temporarily subdued four troublesome chiefs: O'Moore, MacMahon, O'Hanlon, and O'Neill. He quartered his soldiers on the people of the Pale, however, and thus caused them as much suffering as they would have endured from the raids of the Irish chieftains.

Sir John Talbot.

After the accession of Henry VI, in 1422, a quarrel of twenty years' duration broke out between the Butlers and the Talbots, which brought the English settlement to the verge of ruin. Confusion and corruption were rife in the Pale. Debts remained unpaid, and extortions of all kinds were inflicted on the poor people by the officials. A short respite was enjoyed, in the year 1450, when Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, was lord lieutenant. He made the great innovation of adopting fair measures toward both parties, and was deservedly popular. His appointment had been

Duke of York.

for ten years, but Jack Cade's insurrection, breaking out in England in the following year, compelled his return.

119. The Wars of the Roses. The Wars of the Roses, which began in England in 1455, between the rival houses of Lancaster and York, having as their emblems the Red and the White Rose, were destined to last for thirty years. In Ireland, the Geraldines took the side of the House of York, while the Butlers sided with the House of Lancaster. Not only did these great Norman lords fight in Ireland, but they even went to England, carrying Irish armies with them, to fight for the rival princes. Their absence gave the Irish chiefs fresh opportunities to reassert themselves, and to recover still more of their former power. The two factions also fought several battles on Irish soil. Among the captives at one of these battles was MacRichard Butler, whose ransom consisted of two Irish manuscripts, the Psalter of Cashel and the Book of Carrick. A part of the Psalter of Cashel still exists in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and an account of this incident is recorded on one of its pages.

Geraldines and Butlers.

120. Thomas, earl of Desmond, 1463–1467. Thomas Fitzgerald, eighth earl of Desmond, was appointed lord lieutenant in 1463. He was popular with both factions, was a patron of learning, and founded and endowed the college of Youghal in Cork. He exercised his authority for four years, and somewhat mitigated the evils which existed in and beyond the Pale. Edward IV, against the wishes of many of his friends, had refused to marry a princess of France, and thus strengthen his throne. He had wedded a lady of noble though not of royal blood, and this had caused Warwick the king-maker to quarrel with him. The Earl of Desmond incautiously criticised the queen, and his words, reported to King Edward, were made the basis of a charge of high treason. Desmond was arrested, condemned for his words concerning the queen, and also for a breach of the Statute of Kilkenny, in making alliances with the native Irish chiefs, and executed in 1467. Garrett Fitzgerald, the eighth earl of Kildare, called the Great Earl, succeeded him as lord lieutenant.

Executed. 1467.

121. Conditions within the Pale. When Henry II visited Ireland, he laid the foundation of the future Irish Parliament, by calling an assembly of the Norman barons, to whom he had granted lands. These powerful tenants of the crown, together with the English archbishops and bishops, formed the kernel of the future parliament, which gradually gained authority, and acquired the right to vote supplies of money for the king, and to make laws for the English colonists in Ireland. These colonists were grouped within the Pale, which had gradually been diminished in area until it included only Louth and parts of Dublin, Meath, and Kildare, and was now wholly unable to cope with its assailants. Failing in armed force, the Dublin government tried to assert itself by Acts of Parliament, which were very often unjust to the Irish. For example, in 1465 the Dublin Parliament passed an act ordering every Irishman within the Pale

COSTUME OF THE NATIVE IRISH OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

From a photograph of a man dressed in clothes found upon a body six feet below the surface of a bog in Sligo to adopt the English dress and an English name, on pain of forfeiture of his property. To this ordinance is due the fact that many Irishmen took names of towns, like Cork, Trim, Sutton; or colors, like Black, Brown, Green; or trades, like Carpenter and Smith. Another act forbade fishing in waters belonging to the native chiefs, as the money paid for this privilege would enrich the latter, to the detriment of the English. Most unjust was a criminal provision which made it lawful to execute any thief caught in the act, unless he was in the company of an Englishman. This made many opportunities for false accusations, as any Irishman might be murdered, and his head taken to the mayor, with the accusation that he had been caught stealing. His murderer not only escaped punishment, but was even paid a reward. It is true that the Pale swarmed with robbers; but a law like this was more likely to increase crime than to diminish it.

Oppressive and unjust laws.

SUMMARY

The Normans who had settled in Great Britain had by this time lost their Norman character and were blended with the English nation, so that all newcomers from Britain to Ireland may henceforth be called Englishmen. The old Norman barons began now to side with the Irish, and looked upon these new settlers as hostile intruders, and wars and murders were frequent. The English government maintained its only real authority in the small district round Dublin known as the "Pale." It was often forced to pay Black Rent or to call in the help of some Norman or Irish chief to protect it against the attacks of others.

The Irish already suffered greatly through the injustice of the Norman law, which afforded protection to the English only. To make matters worse, in 1367 the Statute of Kilkenny was passed, which contained measures calculated further to separate the two races.

Richard II made two expeditions to Ireland in 1394 and 1399 to subdue Art MacMurrogh Kavanagh, who was the most active of the Irish chiefs. The kings of England were, however, too much engrossed in the Hundred Years' War with France to accomplish anything effective in Ireland.

A subsidiary War of the Roses was carried on in Ireland between the Geraldines and Butlers while the great war was going on in England, 1455–1485. The Butlers, who were the Lancastrians, were defeated. In 1465, the Irish Parliament passed more unjust laws to be enforced against the Irish within the Pale.

CHAPTER XV

RISE AND FALL OF THE GERALDINES

1485–1537

ENGLISH SOVEREIGNS:
Henry VII, 1485–1509 Henry VIII, 1509–1547

122. Henry VII. The Wars of the Roses were ended in 1485, by the accession of the Lancastrian Henry VII, who founded the House of Tudor. Under this line of sovereigns, the English were destined to extend their power in Ireland, regaining much lost ground. During this period, more attention was paid to Irish problems, and an attempt was made to find a serious solution for them. Henry realized that, if English authority was to prevail in Ireland, he must first compromise with the great barons and conciliate them, for much depended on their support. The Geraldines were very powerful at this time, and though they had sided with the House of York, and opposed Henry, the latter nevertheless retained the Great Earl of Kildare as lord lieutenant, until Kildare gave his adherence, in 1487, to Lambert Simnel, a Yorkist pretender to the English throne. The earls of Kildare, it should be remembered, were the Leinster Geraldines, the earls of Desmond being the Munster branch of the family.

Power of the Irish nobles.

123. Poynings' Law. Besides the military force of the Norman barons in Ireland, a strong obstacle to the authority of the English crown lay in the control which these barons exercised over the parliament at Dublin. Henry VII took measures to weaken the parliament. He sent over a new lord lieutenant, Sir Edward Poynings, to undermine the power of the barons. After a short campaign in the north, the new lord lieutenant convened a parliament at Drogheda, in 1494, and at this session was passed the famous Poynings' Law, which contained the following provisions: —

Parliament of Drogheda. 1494.

1. All Acts intended to be passed by the Irish Parliament must first be submitted to the king of England and his Privy Council.
2. English laws were to be enforced in Ireland.
3. The Statute of Kilkenny was revived, alliances between the two races being once more forbidden, though the use of the Irish language was now permitted.
4. It was made a felony to allow enemies or rebels, that is, native Irish who resisted English authority, to pass through the districts on the border of the Pale.
5. Certain high offices, such as those of the chancellor, the treasurer, the master of the rolls, and judges, which had formerly been held for life, were now held only during the king's pleasure.

124. Results of Poynings' Law. All the measures carried out by the new lord lieutenant had two objects: to make the great Norman nobles more dependent on the king, and to protect the common people within the Pale from violence. Up to this time the Irish Parliament had been entirely independent; it had been called by the lord lieutenant when it seemed necessary to him, and had passed laws suited to Irish conditions. Poynings' Law made the Irish Parliament an echo of the English. The worst consequences of this step were not at once seen, because the native Irish had had no share in legislation hitherto, and therefore did not visibly lose anything. The parliament was wholly an institution of the Pale, and no native Irishman could either vote or sit in it. In later times, when the whole of Ireland came under English law, and the Irish Parliament made laws for the entire country, for the natives and the colonists alike, the injustice of this restriction was a fruitful source of evil. Irishmen were forced to submit to laws which they had no voice in making, and which were passed in another country by men who knew neither their wants nor their situation. Long years of strife passed before the repeal of this unjust law was finally secured.

Dependence of the Irish Parliament.

125. Trial and acquittal of the Earl of Kildare. Another act passed by this parliament at Drogheda accused the Earl of Kildare of treason for attempting to oppose the authority of Sir Edward Poynings. Kildare had been pardoned for his support of Lambert Simnel. This time he was arrested and taken to England for trial. Henry VII realized that the death of the Earl of Kildare would deprive him of a valuable officer. For some time, Kildare was kept a prisoner in London, but he was at last brought to trial, in 1496, and forced to answer many charges, largely for imaginary offences. One of the gravest accusations made by his enemies was that he had burned the cathedral at Cashel. "Spare your evidence!" said the Earl of Kildare, "I did set fire to the church, for I thought the archbishop was in it!"

Kildare was then given the right to choose his own advocate, to defend him against these charges. Taking King Henry by the hand, Kildare exclaimed: "Yes, your highness, I choose the ablest in the realm. Your highness I take for my counsel against these false knaves!" Toward the end of the trial, one of his opponents, exasperated at his bold front, exclaimed, "All Ireland cannot govern this earl!" The king replied: "Then this earl shall govern all Ireland!" and Kildare was once more made lord lieutenant, and returned to Dublin in triumph.

Kildare made deputy.

126. Kildare defeats Burke of Clanrickard. One of the most important acts of the reappointed lord lieutenant was the defeat of William Burke, lord of Clanrickard. This fight was the result of a private quarrel. The lord of Clanrickard, who was the leader of the "degenerate English" of Connaught, had married Kildare's daughter and had treated her harshly. His father-in-law remonstrated with him, and from words they came to blows. On the side of Lord Clanrickard were ranged O'Brien of Thomond and the Irish chiefs of Munster. The Earl of Kildare was seconded by the O'Kellys and many of the northern chiefs. The two parties met at Knockdoe, "the hill of the axes," a few miles from Galway, in August, 1504, and there was great slaughter on both sides. The victory, however, remained with the Earl of Kildare and his northern allies, and two of Lord Clanrickard's sons were captured and held as hostages. The "degenerate English" received a severe blow through this defeat, and King Henry VII, naturally gratified by this result, rewarded the Earl of Kildare with the order of the Garter.

Battle of Knockdoe. 1504.

127. Accession of Henry VIII, 1509. Henry VII died in the year 1509, and was succeeded by his son, Henry VIII. The new monarch retained, as lord lieutenant, the Earl of Kildare, who continued to represent the king at Dublin for four years more. In these closing years of his life, he was also engaged in fighting, but his former good fortune deserted him. In 1510, he invaded Munster, and was badly

Death of the old earl of Kildare.

defeated near Limerick by his former opponents, O'Brien and Clanrickard. For three more years, Kildare continued to fight, finally losing his life in an attack on the castle of one of the native chiefs.

His son, Garrett Fitzgerald, made lord lieutenant.

On the death of the old earl, there was an outbreak in the army. The Dublin Council decided that the most practical step to allay the disturbance among the soldiers was to nominate Kildare's son, Garrett Fitzgerald the younger, as lord lieutenant, without waiting to hear from the king, who, however, confirmed the nomination.

128. Career of Garrett Fitzgerald, ninth earl of Kildare. The new earl of Kildare, the ninth to bear that title, was as warlike as his father, and quite as much dreaded by the feudal lords of Ireland. His chief enemies were the Butlers, who had opposed the Geraldines in the Wars of the Roses. They lost no time in seeking means to bring about his ruin. The Earl of Ormond, Pierce Roe, head of the Butlers, had a strong ally in Henry's great minister, Cardinal Wolsey, whom he finally persuaded to take action against the Geraldines. Wolsey assented the more willingly, because he hated Kildare, whose independence and haughty manner had offended the still more haughty cardinal. The Earl of Kildare was summoned to England, on a charge of attempting

ARMORIAL BEARINGS OF THE FITZGERALDS, EARLS OF KILDARE

Wolsey opposes Kildare.

to appropriate the king's Irish revenues to his personal use; and, furthermore, of having suspicious relations with the native Irish chiefs. Kildare was tried and completely acquitted, but was not restored to the office of lord lieutenant.

Surrey made lord lieutenant.

An enemy of Kildare's, the Earl of Surrey, was made lord lieutenant in his place at Wolsey's suggestion. The rule of Surrey was very beneficial to the English colony in the Pale. He quelled a number of uprisings with justice and moderation. He was ill supplied with funds, however, and this so displeased him that he resigned and returned to England in 1521.

Ormond succeeds him.

Pierce Roe Butler, earl of Ormond, was made lord lieutenant. Meanwhile Kildare, who had remained in England, had married the Lady Elizabeth Grey, a relative of the king, and this alliance assured his safety for a time at least. The new lord lieutenant directed all his energies to weakening Kildare's position in Ireland. He led an army into the territory of his rival, and captured several castles. In 1523, Kildare was permitted to return to Ireland.

Kildare reappointed.

His indignation at the state of his lands roused him to an immediate attack on the chief of the Butlers. The king was alarmed, and sent over a commission to settle the dispute. This commission decided in favor of Kildare, who was reappointed lord lieutenant in 1524.

ARMORIAL BEARINGS OF THE BUTLERS, EARLS OF ORMOND

The enemies of the Earl of Kildare did not cease trying to accomplish his ruin. The Earl of Desmond, head of the Munster Geraldines, had entered into correspondence with Francis I, king of France, hoping to induce him to invade Ireland. When news of this correspondence came to King Henry's ears, he ordered the arrest of the Earl of Desmond. The fulfilment of this command fell to the Earl of Kildare, who undertook it most reluctantly. Desmond was his kinsman, and Kildare was accused of having allowed his escape, as he probably did, for Desmond was not arrested. This disregard of the king's command, and certain minor charges against Kildare, gave Wolsey and Pierce Roe Butler the opportunity they had long sought. Kildare was again summoned to London. He went there in 1526, but was not detained. He was deprived, however, of most of his power and was asked to act as adviser to a new lord lieutenant, Sir William Skeffington. The proud earl could not long endure this subsidiary position. He made vigorous efforts to secure his reappointment, and through his personal influence with the king completely succeeded in 1529.

Allowed Desmond to escape.

Kildare, once more in high favor with the king of England, feared no attacks. He married his two daughters to two very powerful Irish chiefs. He removed one lord chancellor and appointed another. To avenge himself on his old enemy, Pierce Roe Butler, earl of Ormond, he invaded the territory of the Butlers. It is probable that at this time Kildare began to cherish larger ambitions, for he encouraged his brother, James Fitzgerald, and his cousin, Conn O'Neill, to attack the English of Louth, whose territory formed part of the Pale. This act, and the ceaseless hostility of Wolsey, brought him a third summons from King Henry VIII.

His ambition.

Instead of obeying it promptly, Kildare lingered in Ireland, fortifying his castles, and strengthening his position in a way which suggested rebellion.

At last, in 1534, another summons came from King Henry, in such terms as to permit no further delay.

His imprisonment and death.

Kildare left Ireland full of misgivings. When he reached London he was imprisoned in the Tower. He left his son Thomas, commonly known as "Silken Thomas," from the richness of his raiment and retinue, as lord lieutenant in his place. Silken Thomas was then a youth twenty-one years old. He had little of the skill in affairs possessed by his father and grandfather, and was too easily influenced by those about him. A false report of his father's death, purposely circulated by his rivals, together with a rumor that the execution of several of his kinsmen was contemplated, caused the young earl to renounce his allegiance to the English king, and to enter on that hopeless struggle which brought ruin to himself and his house. The old earl died of a broken heart in the Tower, when he heard of his son's wild act, and foresaw its consequences.

129. **Rebellion of Silken Thomas.** Thomas Fitzgerald laid siege to Dublin, and although he failed to

Siege of Dublin.

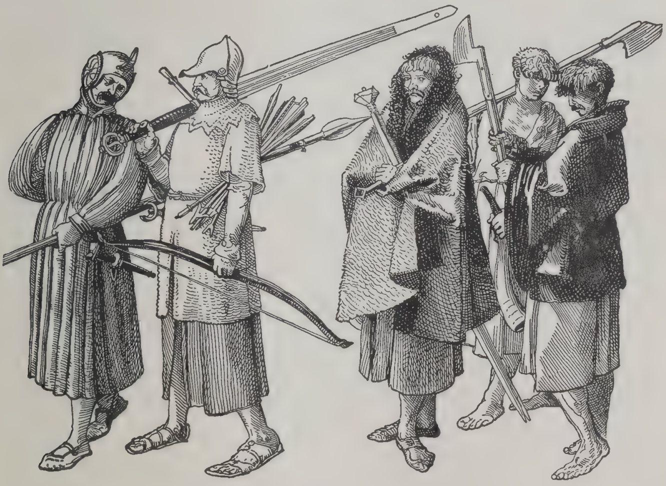
take the city he caused great suffering to its inhabitants and to the surrounding districts. Thomas Fitzgerald and his followers came under the ban of excommunication because of the murder of an archbishop, who took the king's side, and was captured by the insurgent army. Silken Thomas granted his appeal for mercy, but the soldiers wilfully misinterpreted their orders, and murdered the archbishop.

Neither party gained any decided advantage. Parts of Kildare and Meath, as well as the districts around

Skeffington reappointed lord lieutenant.

Betrayal of Maynooth.

Dublin, were devastated. Skeffington had been reappointed lord lieutenant in 1534, and his arrival in Dublin was hailed by the colonists. It was late in the year, and the lord lieutenant considered it inadvisable to begin a campaign that winter. In the early spring hostilities were opened by the siege of Maynooth, one of the strongest of the Geraldine castles, on the borders of Kildare and Meath. Skeffington would never have been able to take it had it not been betrayed to him. This loss somewhat discouraged the rebels, and Silken Thomas lost one of his strongest allies, O'Moore of Leix, who was persuaded by the Butlers to desert his cause.



IRISH KNIGHTS AND THEIR ATTENDANTS IN 1521

From a drawing by Albert Dürer, preserved in Vienna. The artist, who was in the Low Countries at this time, and doubtless saw Irish knights and their followers, calls them "War Men" and "Poor Men." The mantles and axes of the latter are typically Irish; the armor and swords of the former are less typical

Finally Lord Grey, commander of the English forces in Ireland, proceeded with a large force against Silken Thomas, and soon put an end to the rebellion. **Thomas surrenders. 1535.** Silken Thomas, who had lost all his allies but O'Conor, surrendered on condition that his life should be spared. He sailed for England in 1535 assured of a pardon. On his way to Windsor, however, he was arrested and imprisoned in the Tower, where he remained for eighteen months, when he was executed together with five of his kinsmen who had been captured by Grey. Thus the executioner's axe put an end to the greatness of the house of Kildare. Their lands were devastated, their strongholds torn down, and the glory of their family was eclipsed.

130. First Geraldine League. There remained, however, two young sons of the ninth earl of Kildare and the Lady Elizabeth Grey. Gerald Fitzgerald, brother and heir of Silken Thomas, was a boy of ten. The earls of Kildare were connected either by blood or by marriage with the chief Norman and native families of Ireland; **1537.** the two youths were, therefore, well provided with protectors. With the hope of restoring the heir of the house of Kildare to his rights, the O'Donnells, Desmonds, O'Briens, O'Conors, and others combined in what was known as the first Geraldine League. Conn O'Neill was at its head. The king feared the threatening attitude of the league, and was not unwilling to conciliate them. But it was not until fifteen years later that the estates were restored to the heir of the Kildares, and two years more passed before the title was revived. The new earl never regained the position of power and influence held by his forefathers.

SUMMARY

When Henry VII ascended the throne, the Geraldines were the most influential of the Anglo-Irish families. In spite of their Yorkist sympathies Henry deemed it best to extend his favor to them, and placed Garrett, the eighth earl of Kildare, in the office of lord lieutenant. The latter was superseded by Poynings, shortly after the rebellion of Lambert Simnel. Henry now had a law passed known as Poynings' Law, which virtually destroyed the independence of the Irish Parliament, and made it absolutely subservient to the English Privy Council. The Geraldines were becoming daily more powerful. Kildare was reappointed lord lieutenant, and remained in office until his death in 1513. His son, Garrett the younger, ninth earl of Kildare, had two bitter enemies who finally accomplished his downfall, Pierce Roe, earl of Ormond, head of the Butlers, and Cardinal Wolsey. Twice he was summoned to England to answer charges, and acquitted, each time returning to enjoy increased power. The third time his enemies were successful. He was imprisoned in the Tower, and his son, Silken Thomas, a youth of little ability, led an unsuccessful rebellion. The old earl died of a broken heart in 1534. Silken Thomas was executed the following year. The power of the Geraldines was broken, and in years to come the family regained but little of its influence.

CHAPTER XVI

THE REFORMATION, AND CONFISCATION OF CHURCH PROPERTY

1534–1582

ENGLISH SOVEREIGNS:	
Henry VIII, 1509–1547	Mary, 1553–1558
Edward VI, 1547–1553	Elizabeth, 1558–1603

131. Henry VIII and the Reformation. During the reign of Henry VIII of England, events took place in Europe which had a marked influence on Ireland. The various upheavals in the Catholic Church, inaugurated by Martin Luther and carried forward by Zwingli and Calvin, had developed into the movement called the Reformation. Protestantism spread gradually through Germany, Switzerland, and other parts of northern and western Europe. In this movement England at first took no part, though tendencies in the same direction had existed there since the days of John Wiclif. Henry VIII even wrote a book attacking Luther's views, and, in acknowledgment of this defence, the Pope conferred on him the title of "Defender of the Faith," still borne by the sovereigns of England. It is true that Henry VIII later came into open hostility to the Holy See, but this opposition concerned his divorce and remarriage, and not the questions of doctrine and discipline which had been raised by Martin Luther.

Henry's marriage in opposition to the decree of the church caused his excommunication. He replied by disavowing the authority of Rome, and declaring himself the only Supreme Head of the Church within his dominions. He embodied this declaration in the Act of Supremacy passed in 1534. Many of the leading men in his kingdom refused to acknowledge him as their spiritual head, and were put to death. Two of the most prominent of these were Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More, author of "Utopia."

Act of Supremacy in England.

Henry VIII was determined to establish his position as Supreme Head of the Church in Ireland also, and he intrusted the execution of his will to Skeffington, the lord lieutenant, Pierce Roe Butler, earl of Ormond, and a friar named George Brown who was appointed archbishop of Dublin. The latter was immediately and vigorously opposed by Archbishop Cromer, the Primate of Ireland, at the See of Armagh, and Henry was forced to recognize the fact that his revolutionary action would not be tamely accepted. In 1536, a parliament was assembled at Dublin, and an act was passed, similar to the English Act of Supremacy, by which Henry VIII was declared Supreme Head of the Church in Ireland. All government officials were ordered to take the oath of supremacy, failure to do so being considered high treason, and involving loss of office, and probable imprisonment and death.

Act of Supremacy in Ireland. 1536.

It was practically impossible to enforce the new order of things on all the religious houses in Ireland, which at that time were powerful institutions, affiliated with kindred bodies on the continent. Henry VIII determined to solve the matter by suppressing them outright. So far as it was possible to do so, his officers dispersed the friars and monks, seizing their lands and dispersing their communities. About

Suppression of the monasteries.

four hundred monastic establishments were thus broken up in all parts of Ireland, and their inmates made homeless. Henry granted their lands to his friends and followers, and the beautiful abbey churches were allowed to fall into neglect, and often into ruin.

132. The Parliament of 1541. So much for the question of religion. Lord Grey, who had succeeded Skeffington as lord lieutenant, undertook at the same time to assert Henry's civil authority. He attacked the recently formed "Geraldine League," and compelled its chiefs to submit to his authority. Two of the leaders, however, the lords of Desmond and Thomond, still stood out against Henry's power in the southwest. In 1541, a parliament was assembled in Dublin, to pass an act declaring Henry 'King of Ireland,' instead of 'Lord of Ireland,' the title which had previously been borne by the sovereigns of England since the time of King John. By the king's express direction both Anglo-Irish and native chiefs were asked to sit in this parliament, the latter thus appearing for the first time in any legislative body. The act investing the king with his new title was quickly passed by both houses, and the chiefs, worn out with incessant fighting, were not unwilling to accept Henry's overtures of peace. A better feeling began, and English titles were conferred on many Irish chiefs; among others, Conn O'Neill was made earl of Tyrone, and his son Matthew was made baron of Dungannon, with the right to succeed to his father's titles. We shall again hear of both father and son. Henry VIII also made two new political divisions by forming two counties out of the province of Meath: Meath proper and Westmeath.

Henry becomes king of Ireland.

Overtures to the Irish chiefs.

133. Edward VI. Henry's son, Edward VI, was a fervent follower of Martin Luther and the Reformation. His government inaugurated an unfortunate system of planting English colonies in Ireland, which generally meant that native Catholics were deprived of their possessions to make room for foreign Protestants. This was the beginning of much national discord, because the English colonies continued to be hostile settlements, differing in that respect from the Norman invaders, who had soon been transformed by the Irish spirit, and did not try to destroy it.

English Protestants in Ireland.

Colonies.

Edward also initiated the movement which placed Protestant clergymen in all the parishes of Ireland, conferring on them the right to levy tithes, that is, a tax of one tenth of the produce of the land, for their support. The Catholic priests, thus forced out of their churches, nevertheless continued courageously to minister to the needs of their flocks, and their fidelity never wavered in all the subsequent centuries of oppression, misery, and persecution. It is a result of this fidelity that the Irish people to-day possess the qualities of faith, purity, and spirituality which distinguish them among the nations of the modern world. The attempt to make Protestant converts by armed force and the dispossession of the natives by colonists were the two causes of most of the evils which afflicted Ireland for many generations. Sir Anthony Saint-Leger, who had succeeded Lord Grey as lord lieutenant, and the Archbishop of Dublin were Edward's chief agents in this work, but they met with little success beyond the circle of government servants.

The system of tithes.

134. Queen Mary. King Henry's daughter Mary succeeded her brother Edward on the English throne. Unlike him, she was a Catholic, but the few Protestants who were then in Ireland were left in peace, to worship according to their own convictions, and many English Protestants sought refuge in Ireland from the conflicts in the church which then convulsed the larger island. During her reign two new counties were formed: Queen's County and King's County, in honor of Queen Mary and her husband, Philip, king of Spain. The chief towns of these two counties were called after the sovereigns — Maryborough and Philipstown.

135. Queen Elizabeth and the age of persecution. The real religious troubles in Ireland began with the accession of Queen Elizabeth, in 1558. A parliament was convened in Dublin. The Act of Supremacy was renewed, and this time all clergymen were forced to take the oath of supremacy, or cease preaching. Furthermore, the Act of Uniformity was enforced. This act required the use of the English Protestant Prayer-book, and demanded that every man should attend service according to the Protestant liturgy, or pay a fine of twelve pence (equivalent to three dollars to-day) for every failure to do so. The result of these acts was that, in all districts of Ireland where English authority could be enforced, though these were not numerous, the Catholic clergy were compelled to cease preaching openly. They continued, however, to preach and celebrate divine service in private. It was not often that fines were actually levied, and the Act of Uniformity was not effectively in force anywhere outside the Pale. In the rest of Ireland, the English had no power to compel obedience; and although from that time until the disestablishment of the Protestant Church three centuries later the doctrines of the Reformation remained the state religion of Ireland, they were never in any real sense the national religion.

Protestantism enforced.

Tyranny of the central government.

There were other and minor causes of trouble, including the tyrannous and arbitrary character of the Dublin government, which aroused against it colonists and natives alike, so that any invader would have been welcome. The authorities never relaxed their efforts to impose English customs upon the Irish, and many vexatious laws were passed as to matters of speech and dress. The fashion in which hair or beards might be worn and the cut of women's skirts were decided by legislative decree. It is true that these laws never came into effect, but their presence on the statute-book and the spasmodic attempts made to enforce them were a constant source of exasperation.

Its cause.

136. Rebellion of Shane O'Neill. Conn O'Neill, whom Henry VIII created earl of Tyrone, had two sons, Matthew and Shane. Conn preferred the latter, and purposed to leave him his title and lands. Matthew, who bore the English title of Baron Dungannon, claimed the succession, and was supported in this claim by the authorities at Dublin. The English, to clear the way for their favorite, Matthew, sought to remove his father, and for that purpose, enticed him to Dublin, and imprisoned him there. Shane determined to act at once, and took up arms in support of what he believed his right to succeed his father. During the years 1551, 1552, and 1553, a number of unsuccessful attempts were made to subdue the young rebel, and, as usual, the country suffered severely. The Scottish MacDonnells of Rathlin Island were Shane's allies, and against them Sir James Croft, the lord lieutenant, made the first attack.

SHANE O'NEILL'S AUTOGRAPH

It is written Misi O'Neill, literally translated "by me the son of Neill"

It was an unlucky beginning for the government, for MacDonnell and his army surprised Croft as he was landing on Rathlin Island, and cut off the English forces to a man. In the following year, Croft, associating his forces with those of Matthew O'Neill, Baron Dungannon, made another attempt to subdue the young rebel and his allies, but with no greater success. The marching and countermarching of the opposed forces was rapidly turning Ulster into a desert; Croft finally recognized the uselessness of his attempt, and nothing more was done for the next six years.

First successes.

IRISH SOLDIER OF 1582

Picture of soldier from a charter granted by Queen Elizabeth to Dublin in 1582–3. The soldier is no doubt one of the "gallowglasses" who were employed by the queen's government in Ireland. He is armed with the long deadly battle-axe of the Irish foot-soldier

137. A renewal of the struggle. In 1558, some of Shane O'Neill's adherents murdered Matthew O'Neill, and soon after the old earl died in captivity. Shane was immediately elected earl according to Irish custom, while the Dublin government recognized Matthew's son as his successor, as much to weaken Shane as for any other reason. Combinations were formed against the powerful "rebel" by the government, with the hope of overthrowing him, but Shane was too quick for his enemies. He managed to meet and overcome them separately, before any combined force could be arrayed against him. In 1561, he defeated an army under the new lord lieutenant, the Earl of Sussex, and before long had gained

Successful in 1561.

control of all Ulster, including the domain of his old rivals, the O'Donnells, lords of Tyrconnell or Donegal.

Shane visits the English court.

At last Elizabeth decided to try conciliatory measures, and Shane was summoned to her court. He went there in December, 1561, and was cordially received by the clever queen, in spite of a recommendation from Sussex that the great Irishman should be treated coldly, as befitted a rebel. An English historian describes his advance toward the queen, between two rows of admiring courtiers, followed by his "gallowglasses,"[1] with bare heads, long hair curling over their shoulders, saffron-dyed tunics, and wide mantles. Shane made friends with Queen Elizabeth, promising to recognize her authority, provided that she, on her side, admitted his contested right of succession. All would have gone well if certain persons in authority had not thought they could gain better terms from the powerful Irishman. They forced him to sign certain very severe conditions, which, however, he did not consider himself obliged to keep. Shane returned to Ireland, and once more took up arms in defence of his full rights. Elizabeth ordered Sussex to conciliate Shane by substantial concessions, and an agreement was finally signed at his house at Benburb in Tyrone, in which the queen recognized Shane's headship of the clan of O'Neill, by admitting his right to bear the title, "The O'Neill."

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[1] *Gallowglasses and Kerns.* There were two classes of infantry in the Irish armies during the Middle Ages. The light infantry, to whom the name of kerns has been given, were armed with a javelin tied to the wrist with a string, so that it could be pulled back, after a throw, and used again; they also had darts, or light spears to be thrown, and daggers or knives, which were used to kill a wounded foe. The gallowglasses were much more heavily armed. They were protected by a coat of mail, a breastplate, and an iron helmet, and their principal weapon was a sharp battle-axe, like those of the ancient Gauls. When going into battle, the cavalry went first, the heavily armed gallowglasses second, and the kerns third, the last being skirmishers, who hung on the skirts of a retreating army, or attacked it on the march, doing more damage in this kind of irregular fighting than in a pitched battle. The names "gallowglass" and "kern," which are taken from the Gaelic, and are used in the Irish Annals, have been made familiar by Shakespeare's use of them in Macbeth: —

> "The merciless Macdonwald
> (Worthy to be a rebel; for, to that,
> The multiplying villanies of nature
> Do swarm upon him) from the western isles
> Of kerns and gallowglasses is supplied."

His claim recognized.

138. **Shane's war with the MacDonnells.** Now securely established in his rights, Shane made war on the MacDonnells and other Scottish settlers, who had come in great numbers to the north of Ireland, and who were much feared and disliked by the Dublin government. It must be remembered that these settlers were descended largely from the old Irish colonists who founded Scottish Dalriada, as recorded in an earlier part of the nation's story. When Shane was forced to sign the promises already spoken of, an agreement to expel the Scottish settlers was among the conditions, but it is probable that the desire to assert his authority without rivals really determined him to make war on them. He was at first very successful, and won several battles, in which many of the Scottish settlers were killed. In spite of the fact that the authorities had demanded the expulsion of the MacDonnells as part of the price of Shane's freedom, they were far from pleased to see him so completely successful, as it meant an increase of his power, which they already felt to be formidable.

Shane's victories. 1565.

139. **End of the rebellion.** Shane's day of doom was approaching. He met with a final defeat in the follow-

ing year, 1567, at the hands of Hugh O'Donnell. The fight took place on the Donegal side of the Swilly, and Shane was barely able to retreat across a ford of the river with a few followers. Thoroughly disheartened, he resolved to throw himself on the mercy of his former enemies, the Scottish settlers. He sought their camp at Cushendun, with only fifty followers. The Scottish leaders received him with a show of cordiality, but with treacherous designs in their hearts. At a given signal a pretended quarrel was begun, and, in the struggle and uproar, Shane was attacked, and he and all his men were killed. Shane's reputation as a warrior stands high, in spite of the ruin and destruction which resulted from his struggle. He also left a name for fair and just dealing, tempered, however, rather with severity than mercy.

Shane's defeat and death.

A further step in the English organization of Ireland was taken at this time. In 1565, the lord lieutenant formed a new county out of Annaly, which he called Longford. He also divided Connaught into the following counties: Galway, Sligo, Mayo, Roscommon, Leitrim, and Clare, the last of which in later years became a part of Munster.

140. The Second Geraldine League. Religious differences had been growing in importance while these events were taking place. The English were trying to force the Protestant doctrines and ritual upon the Irish. Some of the Anglo-Irish nobles sided with the old native families, as, for instance, the Munster Geraldines, the Earl of Desmond and his adherents. Others took the side of the Dublin government, like the Earl of Ormond and his family, the Butlers. The result of the civil strife thus begun was further devastation of the southern part of Ireland, the lesser

The Geraldines versus the Butlers.

chiefs following the example of the greater, in this religious and political war. Sir Henry Sydney, at this time lord lieutenant, and one of the harshest and most ruthless of England's representatives in Ireland, led an expedition through Munster, hanging, burning, and devastating with pitiless savagery. The Earl of Desmond, a Catholic, and his brother John, who was well disposed toward the Dublin government, were seized, carried to London, and imprisoned in the Tower for six years. The capture of the latter was due to the Earl of Ormond, however, and not to Sydney. These two unwarranted arrests, together with the reports which circulated concerning further intended "colonization" by the Dublin government, as well as attempts to force the doctrines of the Reformation on the Catholics of Dublin, aroused both native and Anglo-Irish chiefs to unite in self-defence in a new coalition called the Second Geraldine League.

Causes of the trouble.

141. The Geraldine rebellion. James FitzMaurice Fitzgerald, a cousin of the Earl of Desmond, was the moving spirit of the rebellion against the English authorities which broke out in 1569. Sydney, greatly alarmed, headed an army and marched south, on a second expedition of massacre, and, by his awful severity, succeeded in terrifying some of the chiefs into submission. FitzMaurice fought long, but in 1573 he was forced to discontinue the struggle, and the rebellion was believed to be ended. The Earl of Desmond and his brother, who were in captivity in the Tower, were set at liberty, as it was thought that all danger of resistance was at an end.

Led by Fitz-Maurice.

Fitz-Maurice secures aid from Spain.

FitzMaurice, however, had not given up the cause as lost. He fled to France, and afterwards to Spain, whence he returned six years later to Ireland. This was in the year 1579, and Fitz-

Maurice brought with him three ships and seventy or eighty Spanish soldiers to support his cause.

As soon as FitzMaurice had landed in Kerry with his Spanish allies, he was joined by John and James Fitzgerald, brothers of the Earl of Desmond. An English force, sent by the government to oppose the rebels, was defeated by John Fitzgerald. Nevertheless, the small body of Spaniards was soon scattered, FitzMaurice was killed, and John Fitzgerald was left in command of the Munster rebels.

Renewed struggle in Munster.

The Earl of Desmond, so far, had taken no part in the insurrection, but now, goaded by the systematic harshness of the government, he joined the rebellion. He was a very powerful ally, and his loss was greatly felt by Queen Elizabeth. The Earl of Ormond, head of the Butler family, remained on the side of the English. The opposing forces now began a series of marauding expeditions, over the whole of Munster from Limerick to Kerry, after the manner of the early tribal raids. They seem, however, to have avoided any attempt to meet in battle. Their tactics differed somewhat. The soldiers of the Geraldine League, although they laid waste the country whenever and wherever they could, did not kill the inhabitants. The English, on the contrary, not only spread devastation through the towns, so that not a house was left habitable, but also killed the inhabitants. The English were gradually gaining the advantage. John and James Fitzgerald were killed, the latter being executed, while the former fell fighting.

Uprising in Leinster.

Leinster also revolted under James Eustace, Viscount Baltinglass. This new uprising was due to the discontent felt by the people of the Pale, partly on account of a tax illegally levied by Sydney two years before, without going through the form of passing a law through the Irish Parliament; and partly owing to measures taken to forward the cause of the Reformation within the Pale. Lord Grey of Wilton was directed to put down this rebellion, but, owing to his rashness, his army was almost annihilated. He had landed at Dublin, and thence led his army south into Wicklow, to attack Baltinglass. He was caught by the allies in a narrow mountain pass, and completely beaten.

Lord Grey defeated.

In October, 1580, a small force of about seven hundred Spaniards and Italians arrived in Ireland, to help in the contest against the English. Lord Grey, furious at his former defeat, bombarded Fort Dunanore, where the Irish were intrenched, until it surrendered, when he massacred the whole garrison, an act which excited indignation even throughout England. He continued this barbarous campaign through the year 1581, until the queen, realizing the lasting harm which was being worked by these savage methods, caused his recall in 1582. Affairs in the Geraldine camp had been growing worse and worse. The army was too weak to accomplish anything, and most of its leaders had been killed or captured. The great Earl of Desmond, head of the Geraldine family, was roaming the woods as an outlaw, with a price on his head. He was finally killed in 1583.

Leinster garrison massacred.

End of the rebellion.

SUMMARY

In 1534, by the Act of Supremacy, Henry VIII had himself proclaimed Supreme Head of the Catholic Church in his own dominions, and the English Church was declared independent of the Pope. By an act passed in Ireland in 1536, Henry VIII was further declared Supreme Head of the Irish

Church; as a result, the monasteries, which refused to recognize his authority, were suppressed. The Irish Parliament of 1541 gave him the title of "King of Ireland."

Edward VI tried to enforce the doctrines of the Reformation; also inflicting upon the Irish the abuses of colonization and the tithe system. There was a short respite during Queen Mary's reign, followed by a period of persecution under Elizabeth, 1558–1603, when the teachings of the Reformation were enforced by stricter measures.

The difference between English and Irish law in the matter of succession to estates was the cause of the rebellion of Shane O'Neill, which broke out in 1551 and lasted until his death in 1566. The continued efforts to impose the Protestant creed, and projects of Protestant colonization, brought about the formation of the Second Geraldine League in 1567, which was followed by the Geraldine rebellion in 1569–82. In this struggle, the Butlers fought on the side of the English, while the Geraldines secured aid from Spain. Munster and Leinster were devastated.

CHAPTER XVII

CLOSE OF THE TUDOR PERIOD

1583–1603

ENGLISH SOVEREIGN: Queen Elizabeth, 1558–1603

142. Lord-lieutenancy of Sir John Perrott, 1584–1588. After the suppression of the Geraldine rebellion, Queen Elizabeth appointed a new lord lieutenant, Sir John Perrott, a man of great ability, who had the interests of Ireland at heart. His first act was to proclaim a general amnesty to all those who returned to their allegiance to the English government. He even sent the Earl of Desmond's son to England to be educated. His leading idea was that English law should be put in force all over Ireland to the exclusion of the traditional Brehon law; and he won over most of the native chieftains to his view.

His policy. He further planned to maintain a large standing army, regularly paid; and to strengthen the English position by building forts, garrisoning towns, and repairing bridges. These plans were, however, defeated by the shortsightedness of the English queen, who habitually sent only a half or a quarter of the money that was absolutely necessary.

In carrying out his plan for introducing English law, Sir John Perrott incurred much opposition among the native tribesmen, because of the ignorance and tactlessness of his agents. He made a very serious mistake when, in 1587, he treacherously captured Hugh Roe, the son of O'Donnell, chief of Tyrconnell, and imprisoned him in Dublin Castle along with the two sons of Shane O'Neill, because O'Donnell had refused to allow the English law-agents and sheriffs to enter his territory. After several unsuccessful attempts, the boys escaped and made their way back to Ulster. This act of Perrott aroused the lasting hatred of the O'Donnells, who had hitherto been well disposed toward him. As a consequence, they joined the next great attack on the Dublin government. The position of the English forces in Ireland was the more critical, as the great Spanish Armada was already being prepared by Philip II of Spain to attack the dominions of his sister-in-law, Queen Elizabeth.

Capture of Hugh Roe.

In 1584, Sir John Perrott divided the province of Ulster into seven counties, Armagh, Monaghan, Tyrone, Coleraine (which was later changed to Derry), Donegal, Fermanagh, and Cavan. The two counties of Antrim and Down in Ulster had been formed some years before. These counties, together with those we have previously named, and Wicklow, which was separated from Dublin a little later, in 1605, complete the number which exist to-day, thirty-two in all.

New counties organized.

143. Hugh O'Neill. The Dublin government had supported Matthew O'Neill, Baron Dungannon, against Shane O'Neill, thus causing the latter to rise in arms in defence of his cause. Matthew left a son, Hugh, who began his career in the army of Queen Elizabeth, and, through her favor, in 1587, obtained the earldom and estates of Tyrone, which had been confiscated on the death of Shane. Hugh had to agree to one condition: that he would surrender a district on the bank of the northern Blackwater for an English fort.

Early career.

This fort, called Portmore, was built to command the ford across the river, which was the usual road from Armagh to Tyrone.

Duplicity of O'Neill.

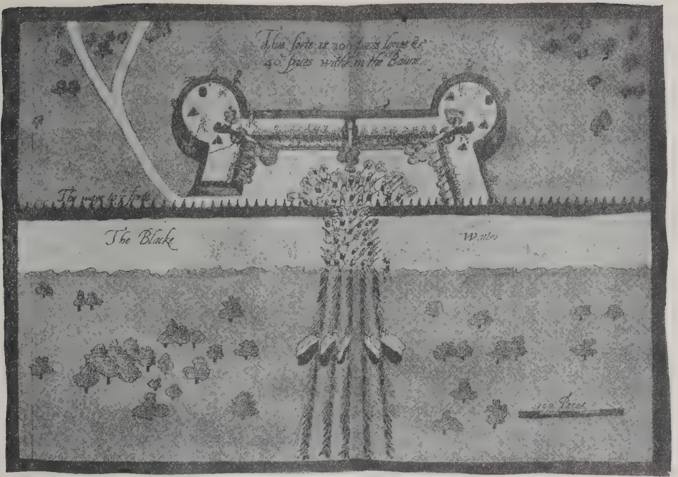
Hugh O'Neill now tried to make friends with both sides. He married a sister of Sir Henry Bagenal, military commander of Ireland, a warm partisan of the English government. It was noticed, at the same time, that he was continually drilling his men, and that he had large quantities of lead brought to his castle, ostensibly to repair the roof, but really to be cast into bullets. Meanwhile he entered into close relations with Hugh Roe O'Donnell, whose escape from Dublin Castle he had assisted; and while not openly helping Maguire, then in arms against the Dublin government, he refrained from opposing him. By the end of 1594, though still protesting loyalty to Elizabeth, he was carrying on a correspondence with Philip of Spain.

HUGH O'NEILL, EARL OF TYRONE

144. Beginning of Hugh O'Neill's rebellion, 1595. Early in the following year, an army of about three thousand men arrived in Ireland under Sir John Norris.

Portmore taken.

O'Neill decided to take action without further delay, and instructed his brother to seize Portmore, while he himself attacked the English at Cavan.



CAPTURE OF THE FORT OF THE BLACKWATER FROM O'NEILL BY LORD BOROUGH IN 1597

From a nearly contemporary picture. The English troops approaching are seen crossing the ford in front

From Cavan he marched to Monaghan, and besieged the English garrison there. In the summer of 1595, the English made repeated attempts to recover Fort Portmore, but they were defeated at every turn by O'Neill and O'Donnell.

Appointment of a new lord lieutenant.

Whenever the English representatives met him in conference, Hugh O'Neill demanded absolute freedom in religion for the Catholics as one of the conditions on which he was willing to make peace. Meanwhile Queen Elizabeth, finding that things in Ireland were going from bad to worse, resorted to the usual expedient of a change of rulers. The new lord lieutenant, Lord Borough, arrived in Ireland in 1597. He was met by Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare, and other lords of the Pale, and immediately planned a threefold attack against Ulster and the rebels. He himself led one division against O'Neill at Portmore, and sent another under Sir Conyers Clifford against O'Donnell, while a third was to go to Ballyshannon, near the south border of Donegal, to unite with the two other armies. The junction was never formed, as the last division was intercepted and annihilated by Captain Tyrrell at Tyrrell's Pass; the second division met with scarcely better success, as it was forced to retreat into Connaught, after losing all its stores and ammunition; Borough was defeated by O'Neill, and lost his life at the battle of Drumflugh on the Blackwater, but not before he had retaken Portmore and garrisoned it with English soldiers under Captain Williams, a thoroughly capable commander.

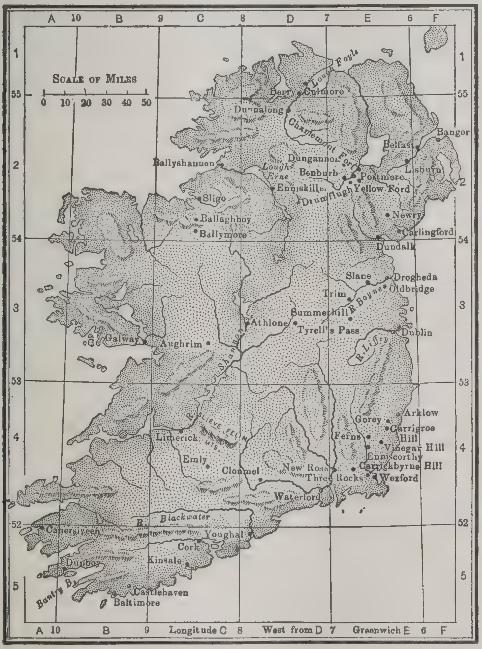
Battle of Drumflugh. 1597.

145. Battle of the Yellow Ford, August 14, 1598. Portmore was the strongest fortress in the north, and was eagerly sought by both sides. Hugh O'Neill now made a series of attempts to take it by assault, but, failing, decided to starve out the garrison. After much indecision, the Dublin Council sent Bagenal, O'Neill's brother-in-law and old enemy, with a relief force of cavalry and infantry, numbering four or five thousand men. This army reached Armagh, five miles south of Portmore. The intervening country was marshy, partly wooded, and cut by a small stream, the Callan. On this stream, at a place called the Yellow Ford, two miles north of Armagh, O'Neill had stationed his army to oppose Bagenal's advance. O'Neill had a slight advantage in numbers, and of course had chosen his own position. Bagenal's men were better drilled, and were also supplied with armor. In O'Neill's army were Hugh Roe O'Donnell, MacDonnell of the Glens of Antrim, Maguire, and other valiant chiefs. O'Neill had dug trenches and thrown up earthworks, so that before

O'Neill's superior position.

Bagenal could reach him he had to cross a trench four feet wide and five feet deep, with a thick hedge of thorns on the edge.

Bagenal divided his army into three sections, and took command of the centre. He posted his cavalry on both wings, and ordered the first division to proceed six hundred yards in advance of the central division. O'Neill had sent out a body of skirmishers to harass the enemy, but in spite of all opposition, Bagenal's first division succeeded in crossing the intrenchments, and managed to



PLACES MENTIONED IN IRISH HISTORY DURING THE WARS AFTER 1582 re-form on the other side. Unfortunately for them, the second division was too far behind, so that the first was cut to pieces before the second could come to its aid. Bagenal himself was shot while exposing himself in an attempt to reconnoitre. The second division was in like manner almost annihilated before the arrival of the third. Meanwhile, O'Neill had sent O'Donnell and his Donegal men to attack the English in the rear. To add to the mishaps of the latter, their reserve of powder was accidentally exploded. The rout of Bagenal's forces was now complete. The few survivors of his army fled back to Armagh, with the Irish in pursuit. The English lost their general, most of their officers, and two thousand men, besides a large quantity of provisions and ammunition destined for Portmore, while the losses of the Irish were trifling.

English army routed.

146. The rebellion at its height. Almost immediately after the battle, Armagh surrendered. Williams at Portmore also capitulated, and was allowed to withdraw to Dundalk. O'Neill was hailed as the deliverer of his country by the Irish chiefs, who were all eager to take up arms and join him. In Ulster and Connaught the insurrection became general. In Leinster it was headed by O'Moore, who began by retaking his forfeited territory of Leix, and then marching into Munster, where he was joined by the Geraldines. Sir Thomas Norris, the president of Munster, was compelled to retire to Cork. The English settlers were so few that they were unable to make an effectual stand, and all that they had gained ten years before, when they crushed the Geraldine rebellion, was lost in a few weeks.

When the news of these events reached Queen Elizabeth, she laid the blame on the Dublin Council, and was convinced of its entire helplessness. She decided that her cause in Ireland required the presence of a large army and an experienced general, and, in 1599, sent Robert Devereux, the earl of Essex, with an army of twenty thousand men, under orders to march at once against O'Neill, and to garrison the English forts at Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon.

Earl of Essex sent over.

Essex, however, failed to carry out any of these commands. On the contrary, he divided his army, scattering his men about in unimportant and distant posts. Then, influenced by the members of the Dublin Council, many of whom owned property in Munster, he marched to the southern province with a force of seven thousand men against the Munster Geraldines and their allies. This undertaking was a miserable failure, and, after two months, he had accomplished nothing beyond the capture of one insignificant castle. He then returned to Dublin, having lost a large part of his army.

Essex scatters his forces.

His failure.

Meanwhile, in the west Sir Conyers Clifford was severely defeated and killed by O'Donnell in the battle of "The Yellow Pass," at Ballaghboy.

Essex had lost his entire army within a few months, and was compelled to ask the indignant queen for reinforcements. She sent him two thousand soldiers, with renewed orders to proceed immediately against O'Neill, which he now did. It was August, 1599. O'Neill was encamped on the bank of a stream called the Lagan, which flows across the plain of Louth; he was so well intrenched that Essex at once saw that an attack would be useless. A truce was arranged and Essex returned to England, where he was executed shortly after. Negotiations continued; but the determination of O'Neill to secure religious liberty for the Catholics was a perpetual stumbling-block.

Return and execution of Essex.

147. Southern provinces devastated. Thus for six years, up to the year 1600, the Irish cause had everywhere prospered, and O'Neill had gained an unbroken series of victories, but now the tide of his fortunes began to ebb. Lord Mountjoy was lord lieutenant, the Earl of Ormond was in command of the army, and Sir George Carew was president of Munster. Carew was deeply hostile toward the Irish, chiefly because of the death of his brother at their hands in the Geraldine rebellion. He and Mountjoy set to work to defeat O'Neill by a plan as simple as it was cruel. They proceeded to turn the three provinces of Ulster, Leinster, and Munster into a desert. The turn of the southern province came first. Carew destroyed the castles, slaughtered the cattle, and burned the corn in the fields, and thus produced a famine. O'Moore was reduced to nominal submission, and the queen allowed Carew to extend pardon to the Munster rebels.

English leaders.

Munster devastated by Carew.

The two principal Irish leaders, Hugh O'Neill and Hugh Roe O'Donnell, could not help Munster, because Mountjoy had kept them in the north by making a move against Tyrone. This pretended attack was designed to give Sir Henry Docwra, who arrived in May, 1600, with large supplies of soldiers, food, and ammunition, an opportunity to plant along the Foyle the forts which Essex had failed to build: Culmore, at the mouth of the Foyle, and Derry and Dunnalong, farther up the river. These forts greatly strengthened the position of the English.

Three new English forts.

The destruction that had been wrought by Carew in Munster was now repeated by Mountjoy in Leinster. O'Moore, the chief of Leix, had, during the early part of the rebellion, regained much of the authority formerly

Mountjoy in Leinster.

wielded by the native kings, and Leinster itself was in a prosperous condition, owing to a succession of good harvests. Within a few weeks, Mountjoy and his soldiers changed the whole of this fair province into a region of desolation and famine, so that by the middle of 1601 the rebellion in the south was completely crushed by the destruction of all means of subsistence for the native armies.

Aguila lands at Kinsale.

148. Help from Spain. After devastating the south, Mountjoy had marched north and treated Ulster in a similar manner. O'Neill and O'Donnell were still fighting, but they were now on the defensive, and were beginning to lose hope. In the autumn, news came that the long desired and long expected help from Spain had at length arrived. It will be remembered that England and Spain had been at war during the whole of this period. On September 23, General Don Juan del Aguila landed at Kinsale with about four thousand Spaniards, and sent word to the Irish leaders to effect a junction with him. O'Neill and O'Donnell immediately set out to meet him, the latter in the lead. The English generals, however, had learned of Aguila's arrival, and marched their forces to a point a short distance north of Kinsale, where they encamped with about twelve thousand men.

Joined by the Irish.

Carew heard of the approach of O'Donnell, and advanced to intercept him. When the latter reached Holycross in the centre of Tipperary, he found that Carew was waiting for him a few miles to the south, at Cashel. On his left hand were the settlements of the Pale, on his right a difficult mountainous country, extending to the west coast. He saw no alternative but to cross these mountains, and Carew himself bore testimony to the skill with which O'Donnell's army, though encumbered with baggage and cattle, made the passage through the defiles and ravines. Toward the end of December, O'Neill rejoined O'Donnell.

Previous to this time, Aguila and his Spaniards were besieged in Kinsale by Mountjoy. The coming of O'Donnell and O'Neill from the north turned the scale, and Mountjoy in his turn was hemmed in. Famine, sickness, and cold afflicted both armies alike. O'Neill was inclined to wait until the English army had been weakened by sickness and hunger, before making an attack; but in a council of war it was decided that the English should be attacked on the night of January 3, 1602. Unhappily for the Irish, their plan became known, and Mountjoy's soldiers were drawn up, ready to receive them. It was raining, and very dark, and O'Neill's guides lost their way. About dawn, the Irish suddenly found themselves close to the English lines. O'Neill hurriedly retreated, for his men were worn out, and not at all fit to attack fresh troops. Mountjoy took advantage of this circumstance, and ordered a cavalry charge, spreading confusion through the ranks of the Irish. O'Neill tried again and again to rally his troops, but with small success. The division led by O'Donnell fled without striking a blow, while Aguila failed to attack the English on the other side at the critical moment.

Battle of Kinsale.

Causes of Irish defeat.

Aguila surrendered Kinsale shortly after this, although help was on the way to him, both from Spain and from O'Neill, who had rallied his army. The Spanish general had failed in everything that had been expected of him, and now, after having been a main cause of the defeat at Kinsale, he suddenly sailed away to Spain. King Philip was so enraged that he threw him into prison, where he died.

Aguila returns to Spain.

After the battle of Kinsale, the Irish chiefs held a council, at which it was decided that O'Donnell should go to Spain to seek further help. He left his brother Rory in command of the Tyrconnell soldiers, and took ship for Spain, where he was cordially received by the king. He was put off with empty promises, and, before the king had decided on anything effective, O'Donnell fell sick and died, September 10, 1602, sad at heart from the news of fresh defeats.

O'Donnell goes to Spain.

His death.

THE SIEGE OF DUNBOY
From a cut in the Pacata Hibernia, published in 1633, giving a nearly contemporary view of the castle

149. The loss of Dunboy. One of these defeats was the surrender of Dunboy Castle. After Aguila had decided to retreat, he promised to give up other strong positions to the English, Baltimore, Castlehaven, and Dunboy, three fortresses along the southwest coast of

Cork. Dunboy was built on a rocky peninsula jutting into Bantry Bay, and belonged to Donall O'Sullivan, chief of Bear and Bantry. This castle was thought by both parties to be impregnable. It was garrisoned by a hundred and fifty Irishmen under MacGeoghegan, and O'Sullivan decided to hold it, in spite of Aguila's promise that it should be surrendered. In the early part of June, 1602, Carew appeared before Dunboy with several ships and an army of four thousand men. Never was doomed castle more valiantly defended. When all hope was gone and the few survivors surrendered, Carew had them slaughtered. The side-walls of the castle still stand above Bantry Bay, marking the site of one of the most savage incidents in Irish history.

Cruelty of Carew.

The lord of Dunboy, Donall O'Sullivan, was now homeless and forced to begin his famous march to the north. For some weeks, he had held out among the Munster mountains against Wilmot, the English commander, but, toward the close of 1602, he realized that his one hope of safety lay in reaching Ulster and joining forces with O'Neill. It was evident that no help could be expected from Spain. He set out toward the close of the year with four hundred soldiers and six hundred women and followers. They were opposed and harassed at every point of their miserable march, and only thirty-five out of the entire number lived to reached Ulster.

The retreat of O'Sullivan.

150. End of the rebellion. The end was fast approaching. Munster and Leinster were prostrate, and Ulster was now to bear the brunt of the fighting. Mountjoy and Carew continued their policy of devastation, burning houses and corn, and slaughtering cattle. Famine spread over the whole of Ireland. O'Neill, with a few followers, was hiding in the forests and among the mountains. He still hoped against hope for help from Spain. Queen Elizabeth, wearied by the endless war, had made overtures to the Irish chieftains, offering pardons and titles to all who should cease fighting. Rory O'Donnell and several others had already come to terms with the queen. To O'Neill, also, Elizabeth made flattering offers, but he held out resolutely, until he received news of the death of Hugh Roe O'Donnell, in Spain. With the disappearance of this last hope, O'Neill saw that his cause was lost, and decided to close the struggle, when Queen Elizabeth died.

Death of Elizabeth. 1603.

SUMMARY

Sir John Perrott, who became lord lieutenant in 1582, did much for Ireland. He enforced English law all over the country, and attempted a policy of conciliation. He made the mistake, however, of treacherously capturing and imprisoning Hugh Roe O'Donnell and several other young chiefs as hostages. They became allies of Hugh O'Neill, who headed a rebellion against the government in the name of freedom and tolerance for Catholics, in 1595. Up to the year 1600, O'Neill was everywhere successful, and by his excellent tactics and good generalship defeated every army sent against him. Portmore was taken in 1595 by the Irish, who also won the battles of Drumflugh, 1597, and The Yellow Ford, 1598. A truce was made in 1599. The arrival of a new lord lieutenant, Lord Mountjoy, who, with his army, devastated the provinces of Munster and Leinster, and the inefficiency of the Spanish general, Aguila, who landed at Kinsale in 1601, brought the rebellion to an end. The Irish lost the decisive battle of Kinsale, and Aguila returned to Spain. Ulster was then devastated. Most of the Irish chiefs accepted Elizabeth's offers of pardon, and submitted to her authority. O'Neill had laid down his arms and was on the point of making formal submission when the queen died, 1603.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE PLANTATION OF ULSTER

1603–1641

ENGLISH SOVEREIGNS:
James I, 1603–1625 Charles I, 1625–1649

151. Flight of O'Neill and O'Donnell. James, the son of Mary Stuart, ascended the throne of England as James I in virtue of his descent from Henry VII. It is worth remembering that James, like the Scottish monarchs who preceded him, was descended from Fergus, who, with his brothers, led an Irish colony to Scotland, at the beginning of the sixth century.

JAMES I

After O'Neill's submission he and Rory O'Donnell received the English title of earl, and external tranquillity seemed to be restored to Ireland. The position of the two great chiefs was, however, full of difficulties. They had been restored to their estates, and this caused envy and jealousy among the adventurers who had hoped to secure these estates in case of forfeiture. They were surrounded by enemies and spies, who constantly sent false reports of their sayings and doings to London. Matters reached a climax when the report was spread, in 1607, that these two chiefs were planning another rebellion. Both were old and worn out with the fatigues of war, and they determined to leave Ireland, rather than endure a new period of perils. They fled to the continent with their families; first to France and later to Rome, where they were hospitably received by the Pope, and pensioned. O'Donnell died in 1608, and O'Neill did not long survive him.

Their deaths.

152. The system of plantations. One more great rebellion was to come a generation later. It had two main causes: the suppression of the Catholic Church, and the system of plantations. In order thoroughly to understand the latter, we shall have to go back a little, and trace its origin and development.

Until the year 1547, whenever the English government wished to be rid of a troublesome Irish chief, it had settled matters by removing the offender, and putting another chief in his place, leaving the mass of the tribesmen unharmed and undisturbed. During the reign of Edward VI, a new system was introduced. The entire estate of the rebellious chief was confiscated, and the tribesmen, who were considered to be his tenants, as they would have been under English law, were turned out of their farms and homes. The whole land of the tribe was then given to an "undertaker," who received it on condition that he should bring over a certain number of English colonists and plant them on the confiscated land. Hence the name "plan-

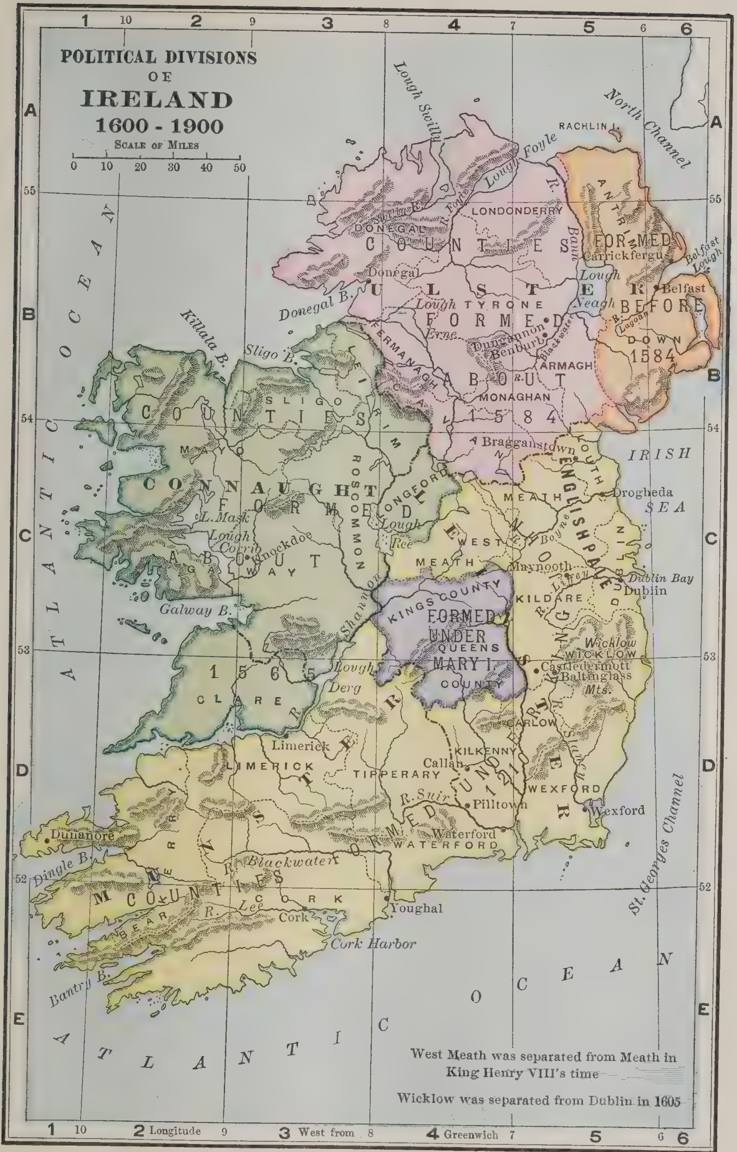
Begun under Edward VI.

tation." This naturally caused great loss, suffering, and misery to the dispossessed tribesmen, who became bitter enemies of the English government. Hundreds of cultivators were often turned out of house and home in this way, no provision being made for their future, beyond a general order to settle elsewhere. This sad fate overtook them through no fault of their own, but simply because a quarrel had arisen between the head of their tribe and the Dublin government. There was no place for the dispossessed peasants elsewhere. The tribesmen of other regions could not find room for them, or give up their own fields, which, indeed, they would rather have defended by the sword.

Its evils.

153. Early attempts at plantation. The first experiment in the new system occurred in 1547, shortly after the death of Henry VIII. Two chiefs, O'Moore and O'Conor were banished, and their lands confiscated and given to "undertakers," to found plantations. An Englishman, who had received a grant of part of this land, was able to gain possession only after severe fighting, and his settlement was ruined by the perpetual attacks of the dispossessed tribesmen. The loss of life through fighting was not the only evil resulting from this system. Hardly less mischievous was the fall in the value of land. An estate which had been in admirable condition under its native chief was usually reduced to a wilderness before the planters gained possession of it.

A second attempt at plantation, in the south and west, during the reign of Queen Mary, met with a like fate. On this occasion, the full force of the English government was brought to bear against the Irish tribesmen; yet, after years of bitter fighting, during which the families of the original cultivators were all killed, the English were forced to admit the defeat of their scheme. A



POLITICAL DIVISIONS OF IRELAND 1600 - 1900

West Meath was separated from Meath in King Henry VIII's time

Wicklow was separated from Dublin in 1605

third failure followed the death of Shane O'Neill in 1570, when half of Ulster was confiscated by Queen Elizabeth.

154. Failure to plant Munster. In the year which saw the end of the Geraldine rebellion, 1585, a Dublin parliament confiscated the estates of the Earl of Desmond and a hundred of the Munster chiefs, who had taken part in the rebellion. In the following year, Elizabeth made a proclamation that "undertakers" were wanted to plant these lands, and estates were offered at merely nominal prices, and free of rent for five years. The "undertakers" were to settle a certain number of families, according to the size of their estates. Thus, on an estate of twelve thousand acres, eighty or ninety English tenants were to be planted. Many of the Englishmen who received these estates never saw Ireland, while a few, like Sir Walter Raleigh and Edmund Spenser, came and settled in some of the old castles.

Difficulty of planting.

But the attempt on the whole was an absolute failure, for it was impossible to find a sufficient number of English tenants to occupy the immense areas confiscated. As a result, the "undertakers," rather than let their lands lie idle, violated the conditions of their grants by accepting Irish tenants, who thus came back into possession of their former lands. It was almost always necessary to drive them out in the first instance, by armed force, and they made repeated attacks on the plantations, after the manner of the old-time raids. This condition of things went on until the reign of James I.

155. Revival of the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity. James I was not only a descendant of the old Milesian race, but was also strongly inclined toward the Catholic Church. His accession was hailed with hope in Ireland, and, in defiance of the penal laws of his predecessor, Catholic worship was restored in parts of

Leinster and Munster. This tendency was checked when, in 1605, parliament revived the Act of Supremacy, which practically excluded all Catholics from office, and the Act of Uniformity, which compelled attendance at Protestant places of worship, on pain of fine and imprisonment. Though these acts could not be generally enforced, they were, nevertheless, the cause of great irritation and indignation.

156. Plantation of Ulster. King James had long intended to establish further plantations in Ireland. He accordingly took advantage of the flight of O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, and O'Donnell, earl of Tyrconnell. James had no legal claim to their lands, as they had been lawfully instated, and had broken no law when they left the country. Nevertheless, in 1608, he confiscated the greater part of six of the nine counties of Ulster, including some three quarters of a million acres of fertile land. This was distributed among three classes of holders, who were known as "undertakers," "servitors," and "old natives." The undertakers, who were English or Scotch, had holdings of two thousand acres, and were obliged to plant either English or Scotch Protestants. The servitors, who were Protestant Irish who

SETTLERS' HOUSES IN THE ULSTER PLANTATION

From a book published in 1622, entitled "A Brief Survey of the Present Estate of the Plantation of London Derry." The houses represented were erected by the company of Drapers.

Distribution of the land.

had upheld the English government during the late rebellion, received fifteen hundred acres, and might take Scotch, English, or Irish Protestant tenants. The third class held a thousand acres, and were allowed to plant Catholics, who were exempted from the Act of Supremacy. The formation of these settlements sharply divided by religious differences added a new element to the already existing causes of strife.

Special grants.

Besides the distribution of land just described, many thousand acres were granted to Protestant churches and educational institutions, Trinity College in Dublin, for example, receiving nearly ten thousand acres. Companies of London merchants and a few favored individuals also received large grants. The dispossessed cultivators were supposed to go elsewhere to seek new lands. They were so numerous, however, that there was nowhere for them to go, so that many of them remained as laborers for the new tenants, or became wanderers and fugitives near their old homes. Some managed to find refuge in the wilder mountain regions, where they were able to keep a few cattle or sheep, and so to eke out a miserable existence. They were so worn out from past years of fighting that they offered no armed resistance, and the new plantations were for the time comparatively free from attack, and fairly prosperous.

What became of the dispossessed natives.

157. The first national parliament. King James conferred one benefit on Ireland. Formerly, only English settlers could claim the protection of the law courts in Ireland. Now the uniform protection of the law was extended to all inhabitants of the country, English and Irish alike. The act which brought this about was passed by a parliament assembled at Dublin in 1613; a parliament which is memorable as

English law extended to Ireland.

being the first to contain representatives from every part of Ireland. Forty fictitious boroughs were created by the lord lieutenant, each of which sent two representatives to parliament, thus insuring a majority favorable to the purposes of the government. The parliament voted King James a large subsidy, in acknowledgment of the benefits he had conferred by extending the protection of the law to the whole country. How much real protection there was in this law, however, will be seen shortly.

158. A new system of confiscation. The king and his followers, elated at the success of the Ulster plantation, now invented a new weapon of attack against the Irish chiefs. The open confiscation of coveted lands was discontinued. The law courts were set to work, and the titles of Irish land-owners were attacked and declared imperfect. The owners had either to lose their land or pay exorbitant bribes to the officials and courts, to secure a legal title to their estates. The funds thus extorted went to fill the royal treasury.

"Discoverers."

Leinster suffered most, as that province was overrun by swarms of men known as "discoverers," who found or invented flaws in the titles by which Irish families held their estates. They then proceeded to threaten the owners with legal dispossession, thus compelling the latter to bribe them heavily. It was almost useless to refuse their demands, with a hope of gaining justice in the law courts, as judgment almost invariably went against the land-owners.

159. Accession of Charles I. James I died in 1625, and was succeeded by his son Charles. Like his father, the new king was perpetually in need of money, and by no means more scrupulous as to how he obtained it. His arbitrary methods finally cost him his throne and his head. He inherited from his father a costly war with Spain, and this led him to extort money from Catholics and Protestants alike. He made promises to both, which he never intended to keep, and, in return for these promises, received large subsidies from Ireland. The Catholics wished to obtain religious freedom and civil equality, while the Protestants, alarmed at the corruption of the law courts, and fearing that it would soon be their turn to suffer legalized robbery, sought to have the titles to their lands indorsed by royal decree. Instead of summoning a parliament and having money voted in the usual way the year of his accession, Charles made an agreement under which the Irish landowners were to pay him a subsidy of a hundred and twenty thousand pounds, in instalments, in return for a series of concessions, called the "Fifty-one Graces." The Irish paid the subsidy, and waited for the parliament which was to have been summoned to confirm these "Graces." When Charles had received the money, his interest in the matter ended, and the parliament was never convened.

His duplicity.

The Fifty-one Graces.

The violation of the two most important of these "Graces," namely, the protection of estates against confiscation and plantation, which affected Protestants and Catholics alike, and the extension of religious toleration to Catholics, was the immediate cause of the Irish rebellion of 1641, as similar acts of the king were the cause of the revolution in England at the same time.

160. Arrival of Wentworth. The new lord lieutenant, Thomas Wentworth, later known as Lord Strafford, was a fit servant for such a master. He viewed Ireland as a conquered country, which had, therefore, no rights or liberties, save such as the king, in his royal clemency, might deign to grant. Wentworth came to

Ireland in 1633 with a firm determination to accomplish two things, no matter what they might cost: first, to make the king undisputed master throughout the country, and, second, to make him rich by trading in grants of Irish land. He began by collecting twenty thousand pounds from the Catholics, for freedom from the penal laws, and an extra year's subsidy from the Irish land-owners for permission to call a parliament to ratify the "Graces." This parliament met in 1634, and voted two hundred and forty thousand pounds to the king, but Wentworth, by his determined cunning, succeeded in rendering the "Graces" ineffective.

The "Graces" evaded.

161. Wentworth breaks all promises. Now that Wentworth had received the money he required, he proceeded to break all his promises, and violate every law for the protection of land. He began by attacking the titles of the Connaught estates, and confiscating them one after another. Each case was brought to trial before a fictitious court, where judge, jury, and sheriff were paid servants of Wentworth, who had given them their instructions beforehand. Victims were found among the Protestants and Catholics alike.

Confiscations in Connaught.

After these confiscations in Connaught, the lord lieutenant extended his system to Clare and Tipperary, in Munster. Much as he wished to turn the confiscated estates into plantations, he feared to do so, owing to the unstable position of Charles in England. Such an attempt would undoubtedly have brought about an immediate rebellion, and he was wise enough to recognize this. He failed, however, to see that the result of his master's policy was equally certain to bring disaster, though it was slower in coming.

Confiscations in Munster.

162. Wentworth's administration. Although Wentworth was the most despotic governor the Irish had known, his administration had a bright side. He succeeded in maintaining order among the quarrelsome lords and chiefs, and thus gave the country and the poorer classes time to recover from the continual warfare. He gathered together, drilled, and armed nine thousand Irish Catholics, to support his royal master, and in the absence of local wars trade began to recover, and the country enjoyed a measure of prosperity. We must condemn Wentworth for the destruction of the Irish wool trade, which had always been a very flourishing industry. He considered that the Irish trade interfered with the English, and therefore must be stopped. To replace it he introduced the manufacture of linen, which was very successful, and

THE EARL OF STRAFFORD GOING TO EXECUTION

Destruction of the wool trade.

has since become, especially in Ulster, one of the most valuable Irish industries.

Wentworth was made Earl of Strafford for his loyalty to the king, but his course was almost run. In 1640, he was recalled to England, to subdue the Scottish Covenanters, who, in their own way, were fighting the battle of religious liberty. A few months later, he was impeached by the House of Commons, and brought to trial on certain grave charges, the severest of which was that he had raised an Irish Catholic army, to be used against the people and parliament of England. He was condemned, and went bravely to the scaffold, being beheaded at the Tower, in May, 1641.

End of Wentworth's career.

SUMMARY

The plantation system was an abuse which originated in the time of King Edward VI, and during the two succeeding reigns several unsuccessful attempts to plant various parts of Ireland were made. James I, in 1605, revived the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity. In 1608, he seized and confiscated the estates of the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, — that is, nearly all Ulster, — distributing it to planters under specified religious restrictions. This Plantation of Ulster, 1608, was the first successful plantation. In 1613, the first national parliament decreed the extension of English law to all of Ireland. At the same time King James, with the help of the "discoverers" and the corrupt law courts, extorted great sums from the Irish by attacking the titles to estates.

Charles I added to the abuses of his father. In return for large subsidies, he promised to the Irish "Fifty-one Graces," which were never ratified by parliament. Wentworth, Lord Strafford, was lord lieutenant from 1633 to 1640. His administration was marked by confiscations in Connaught and Munster, and by the destruction of the Irish wool trade. Otherwise the country prospered under his rule.

CHAPTER XIX

THE IRISH REBELLION

1641–1649

English Sovereign: Charles I, 1625–1649

163. Plans for rebellion. The many evils which Ireland had suffered since the accession of the Stuarts, especially through the system of confiscation and spoliation, together with the ever-present Catholic abuses, were beginning to bear fruit when Strafford left Ireland. The Anglican Church party represented the king, while the Scottish settlers, and many of the English colonists, drawn from the mass of the people, were on the side of the parliament. The native Irish were fully convinced that they could hope for no redress from the king, and that their only course was to fight against the Dublin government. Their leaders, headed in the beginning by Roger O'Moore of Leix, whose family had once been very powerful but had lost its possessions under Queen Mary, and Sir Phelim O'Neill of Tyrone, held repeated meetings, and determined to make a resolute stand for reform, or at least for relief from oppression. They hoped for assistance from their exiled fellow-countrymen, who, by this time, had grown numerous in various European countries, especially France, Spain, and Italy, and who had in many cases risen to positions of great distinction. Through the influence of these exiles, the Irish also hoped for

Determination of the native chiefs.

aid from the countries where they had taken refuge, and which they had served so well.

164. **Owen Roe O'Neill chosen as leader.** The leaders of the Irish, having determined to act, gathered their armies together, and sent an invitation to Owen Roe O'Neill, a nephew of the great Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, to take command. Owen Roe was then in the Netherlands, and was an admirable leader and a most accomplished man, who wrote and spoke Latin, French, Spanish, and English, as well as Irish, his mother-tongue. He had won renown on numerous continental battlefields, and was well fitted, both by genius and training, to lead a national party, not only in council, but in the field.

His ability.

OWEN ROE O'NEILL
From a portrait on wood supposed to have been painted by a celebrated Dutch artist

165. **Outbreak of the rebellion.** The plan finally agreed on by the Irish leaders was to open the campaign by an attack on Dublin in October, 1641. O'Moore was to surprise Dublin Castle, while at the same time Sir Phelim O'Neill was to attempt the capture of a number of English forts in Ulster, and thus give the signal

for a general uprising. In spite of repeated warnings, the Dublin government had no realization of what was taking place till the last moment, when the lords justices arrested two of the leaders, Maguire and MacMahon, who were sent to London, convicted, and hanged. The authorities at once strengthened Dublin, so that, if need be, it might stand a siege. If the attack on Dublin failed, on the other hand all

Maguire and MacMahon captured.

CHARLEMONT FORT

Captured by Phelim O'Neill in October, 1641. This land was first intrenched by Lord Mountjoy in 1602. The fort above was built not long after, and was formerly surrounded by a moat crossed by a drawbridge

Ulster was soon in the power of the national leaders. Sir Phelim O'Neill, by the subterfuge of a false commission from the king, gained possession of Charlemont Fort; and Newry, Dungannon, and other strongholds were also taken. Sir Phelim was now at the head of thirty thousand undisciplined men, drawn from among the dispossessed tribesmen, whose one desire was to seek revenge and plunder. For a few days the determination to avoid unnecessary bloodshed was carried out. Then the army

Sir Phelim O'Neill in Ulster.

Merciless devastation.

began to burn and kill. It was the progress of Mountjoy repeated, but with the tables turned. The blood of thousands, innocent and guilty, flowed together; settlers and natives, Protestants and Catholics, butchered each other. In many instances Protestants were protected from the army through the interposition of the Catholic clergy.

166. Four parties in Ireland. At the beginning of 1642, we find four fairly well defined parties in Ireland, each of which had control of an army. **Old Irish.** First was the Old Irish, which stood for total separation from England. This party included those who had suffered most from the plantations and the religious persecutions. They were in possession of Ulster. **Anglo-Irish Catholics.** Second came the old Anglo-Irish or Normans, who had suffered in the same way, though not so severely. They stood for civil and religious liberty, but in political union with England. They occupied the central and southern parts of the country. These two parties were both Catholic, but, from lack of union, they greatly weakened their cause. **Puritans.** Third, there were the Presbyterians and Puritans, under Robert Monro in Ulster, adherents of the English Parliamentarians and working with the Scottish Covenanters, the most bitter enemies of the king. They were naturally extremely hostile toward the Catholic parties. **Royalists.** Fourth, there were the Royalists, with their stronghold in Dublin. They belonged to the Anglican established church, which recognized the king of England as its head.

167. Arrival of Owen Roe O'Neill. For nearly a year fighting went on in Ulster, the Old Irish under Phelim O'Neill attacking Monro and his Puritans with varying success. Sir Phelim was a bad general, so Monro began to gain ground steadily. Ulster had become a wilderness during months of relentless warfare and devastation, when the Irish cause was strengthened by the arrival of the long-expected Owen Roe O'Neill, in July, 1642. He brought a large number of continental officers with him from Belgium, where he had done brilliant service for the Spanish armies. With his headquarters in Tyrone, in the heart of his ancestors' territory, he and his officers immediately set about forming a disciplined army, drilling and training recruits to add to the Old Irish army. The new general immediately put an end to all acts of lawlessness and cruelty, ordered the release of the Protestant prisoners, and punished many of those who had been guilty of outrage and violence.

He takes command of the Old Irish.

168. Confederation of Kilkenny. Both Catholic armies now had competent leaders and were fairly well equipped, but there was no union, either of purpose or of organization, between them. An important step toward attaining this end was now taken in the Confederation of Kilkenny, an elected representative body which assembled at the suggestion of the Catholic bishops, on October 24, 1642. It had as its main aim the union of the various Catholic interests into one solid party. The confederation was well supplied with funds, and spent largely on shows and pageants. We read of an endless series of illuminations, banquets, and balls. The members of the great Norman houses of Leinster vied with each other in display. The Supreme Council journeyed in state from Kilkenny to Wexford, from Wexford to Waterford, from Waterford to Limerick and Galway, surrounded by hundreds of horsemen with drawn swords, and accompanied by numerous officials. We hear of civil and

Aimed to unite all Catholics.

military representations, of comedies and stage-plays, feasts and banquets, and "palate-enticing dishes" during the journey.

169. The Parliament of Kilkenny. The parliament which met on October 24, 1642, consisted of eleven bishops, fourteen lords, and two hundred and twenty-six commoners. Its first official act was a formal declaration of loyalty to the king, for no sooner had the new parliament met than the Royalists of Dublin proceeded to denounce its organizers as rebels. Its second act was to assume the government of the country, according to the provisions drawn up at a preliminary meeting. A Supreme Council of twenty-four members was elected, six being chosen from each province. This council minted money and enlisted soldiers to form a national army.

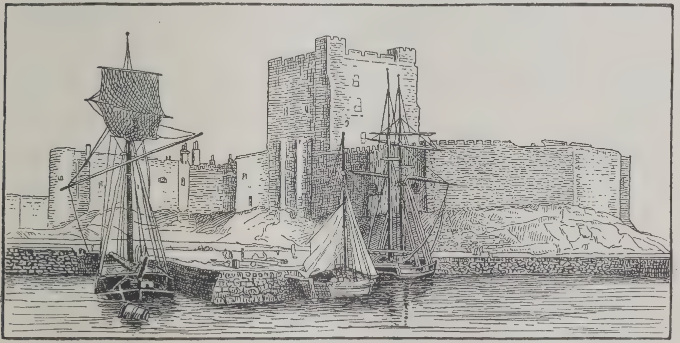
Supreme Council elected.

170. Attitude of Charles I. Owen Roe O'Neill was at the head of the Old Irish army in Ulster, opposing Monro; while Preston, with the Anglo-Irish in Leinster, was opposed to the Royalists. The king meanwhile continued his policy of short-sighted self-seeking, breaking pledges whenever he saw a slight temporary advantage. The chasm between him and his parliament was growing daily wider; he was, therefore, willing enough to make friends with the Supreme Council of the Confederation at Kilkenny, hoping to use them as allies in his English wars. His ministers, and especially Ormond, appointed lord lieutenant in 1644, caused this plan to miscarry. Moreover, when attacked in parliament, and accused of seeking help from Ireland, Charles did not hesitate to disown the authorities at Kilkenny, saying he had never had anything to do with them. At this, the latter were very naturally disgusted.

His false overtures.

171. Lack of union among the Catholics. The Pope sent money and arms to the Irish Confederation, but they could not fully profit by this help, owing to increasing dissensions among themselves. The Catholic bishops and the Old Irish wished to fight actively for the full independence of Ireland, while the Anglo-Irish desired to temporize, and retain a connection with the English crown. O'Neill and Preston, the two ablest Irish generals, were at swords' points, more ready to hinder than to help each other.

172. Attempt of the Scottish forces to unite. In May, 1646, General Robert Monro and the Scottish forces prepared to begin an offensive campaign from their base at Carrickfergus in Antrim, where they had an army of about seven thousand men. Monro's brother George had five hundred in the north of County Derry, while there was a Scottish army of about two thousand at Londonderry. It was decided to bring these three forces together toward the southern border of Ulster, and then to proceed southward against the government of the Confederation, centred at Limerick.



CARRICKFERGUS CASTLE
Giving a good idea of the castle with its large keep as it appears from the water

Owen Roe O'Neill, with five thousand foot and five hundred horse, all "good, hopeful men," to use his own words, by a forced march reached the northern Blackwater, and pitched his camp on the north bank, where he was directly between the two Monros, who could join their forces only after dislodging him. Robert Monro, who by this time had reached Armagh, saw that it would be necessary to give battle without delay, if the much smaller forces of his brother and the Scots from the north were not to be cut off.

O'Neill intercepts.

173. Battle of Benburb. Robert Monro began a northerly movement toward O'Neill's position at dawn on June 5, 1646, and presently reached the Blackwater, where he found himself face to face with O'Neill's army across the river. The two forces marched along the river-bank, keeping parallel to each other for some time, till Robert Monro finally forded the Blackwater. O'Neill continued to withdraw his army toward the hill of Knocknacloy, the position he had from the first had in mind for the battle. Here, he had the centre of his army protected by the hill, the right by a marsh, and the left by the Oona Water, a stream which flows into the Blackwater. Monro was thus prevented from making any but a frontal attack.

O'Neil's advantageous position.

While fighting was going on at the pass through which O'Neill had retreated and left guarded, he drew up his line of battle. We should remember that the Irish army was not only outnumbered by Monro's, but that O'Neill had no artillery, while Monro was well supplied with guns. The two armies now met and opened fire. The Scottish artillery was planted on a hillock a quarter of a mile from the Irish centre, and, under cover of its fire, an infantry charge was attempted, which was brilliantly repulsed

First attacks of Scots repulsed.

by the pikemen of Owen Roe's army. A second attack was made by the Scottish cavalry, who tried to ford the stream, and thus turn the left flank of the Irish army. They were met and routed by the Irish horse. It was about six in the evening, and the sun, hanging low in the sky, fell full in the faces of the Scottish troops. O'Neill promptly followed up the rout of the Scottish horse by an advance, making a sweeping movement from right to left, and thereby forcing Monro into the angle between the Blackwater and its tributary, where he had no room to move. At this point, O'Neill received reinforcements, consisting of four squadrons of cavalry, sent earlier in the day to guard against the possible approach of George Monro from Coleraine, and which now returned, having fulfilled their mission.

Monro forced back into the river.

At a signal from O'Neill, the army advanced against Monro, and was met by a charge of the Scottish cavalry, instantly replied to by a charge of the Irish cavalry. Monro's first line was broken, and an advance of the Irish pikemen, equivalent to a charge with bayonets, steadily forced him backward. It was a fierce hand-to-hand struggle. The order of O'Neill's advance was well held, while the Scottish forces, already broken and crowded into the narrow space between the two rivers, were in confusion. Finally the Irish army reached and stormed the hill where Monro's artillery was placed, and victory was won. The defeat of the Scottish army was turned into a complete rout, and when the sun set, more than three thousand of Monro's men lay dead on the field.

It is almost incredible that the Irish losses were only seventy, yet such is the number recorded by their adversaries. Not only was Monro's army utterly defeated, but all his artillery, his tents and baggage, fifteen hun-

JAMES BUTLER, DUKE OF ORMOND

Extent of the Irish victory. dred horses, twenty stand of colors, two months' provisions, and numerous prisoners of war fell into O'Neill's hands. As a result of the battle, the two auxiliary forces had to turn back, while General Robert Monro fled to Carrickfergus.

174. Dublin in the hands of the English Parliamentarians. In the following year, 1647, an attempt was made to capture Dublin. The Confederates heard that the lord lieutenant, Ormond, was planning to surrender the city to the Parliamentarians, and O'Neill and Preston were sent with orders to take it before Ormond could act. As before, the two generals disagreed. O'Neill and the other Old Irish leaders wished to take the town by force; while Preston and the Anglo-Irish wished to negotiate. Further, a false alarm caused the Irish generals to break up their camp, and to begin a retreat. Before they could recover the ground thus lost, Ormond seized the wished-for opportunity to hand the town over to the Parliamentarian army, and then fled to France.

Jealousy of O'Neill and Preston.

175. O'Neill's successes. During the two years after the battle of Benburb, Owen Roe O'Neill held the central plain, the west, and most of the north of Ireland against the English armies of Royalists and Parliamentarians alike, gaining victory after victory, generally against superior numbers, better armed and better equipped. We find him frequently almost betrayed by the Supreme Council, because the Norman lords of Leinster, perpetually anxious for their own feudal estates, were ready to treat with either one of the English parties which was for the moment victorious. At this time the Norman lords were in possession of many of the confiscated abbey lands in Ireland, and there was perpetual friction between them and the Catholic Church on this account. The Norman landowners were the element of weakness throughout the whole of this national movement. While praying for the final defeat of the English Parliamentarian forces, they dreaded to see this defeat brought about by Owen Roe O'Neill, in whom they saw the representative of the old Gaelic tribal ownership, a return to which would mean their own extinction.

Attitude of the Norman landowners.

176. Defeat of two Irish armies. The other Irish generals were less successful than O'Neill. In August, 1647, the Confederate and Parliamentarian armies met in battle near Summerhill, in Meath. Preston was in command of the Irish, and was completely defeated by the Parliamentarian army under Colonel Jones, governor of Dublin, losing more than five thousand men. This defeat was followed by another shortly after, though under other leaders, near Mallow, in the north of Cork.

177. Alliance of Royalists and Confederates. Ormond returned to Ireland in 1648, after about a year's absence, and took command of the Anglican Royalists, on behalf of King Charles. He hoped to carry out a plan by which the Royalists were to act with the Confederates, on condition that the laws against the Catholics should be repealed. Both parties were then to try to save the king from the English Parliament, which had definitely gained the upper hand in the long contest. It was, however, too late to help the fallen monarch. He was tried, condemned, and beheaded, on January 30, 1649, and England was completely in the power of Oliver Cromwell and the Parliamentarians.

Execution of the king. January, 1649.

SUMMARY

By 1641, discontent had become so strong in Ireland that the chiefs of the Old Irish clans determined to rebel. Owen Roe O'Neill was invited to return from the continent and command the army. An unsuccessful attempt to take Dublin was followed by the devastation of Ulster by the Irish.

There were four distinct parties in Ireland at the beginning of 1642: two of them were Catholic, but they thwarted rather than aided each other. They were opposed by the Scotch Presbyterians under Monro and the Anglican Royalists of Dublin. A Catholic assembly met in 1642, and drew up a plan which was brought into operation by the Confederation of Kilkenny. The Confederates took the government of the country into their own hands, under a Supreme Council which was elected from the Parliament of Kilkenny in October, 1642. Fighting between the different parties was more or less continuous during the next few years. On June 5, 1646, O'Neill won the famous battle of Benburb, where Monro and his Scots were completely routed. The following year Dublin was handed over by Ormond to the Parliamentarians. During 1646–48, O'Neill led a successful campaign in the west and north, but other Irish generals suffered repeated defeats. Charles I was already in serious danger. Ormond returned to Ireland and attempted to unite Royalists and Confederates in a vain endeavor to save the king, who was executed by the Parliamentarians, January 30, 1649.

CHAPTER XX

CROMWELL AND THE RESTORATION

1649–1688

English Sovereigns:
Commonwealth, 1649–1660 Charles II, 1660–1685
James II, 1685–1688

178. Charles II proclaimed king. For some time after the execution of Charles I, the Parliamentarians lost ground in Ireland. Charles, prince of Wales, was acclaimed king as Charles II by nearly all the contestants, including Ormond, the Confederation, and the Scottish Presbyterians. Several important forts which had been lost were recaptured for the new king. Ormond now decided to besiege Dublin, held by the Parliamentarians under Colonel Jones, although his force was too small to undertake a regular siege. He marched toward Dublin, and encamped at Rathmines, ordering one of his officers to fortify a castle just outside the town. Colonel Jones anticipated him. Making a sortie on the night of August 2, 1649, he surprised Ormond, and completely defeated him, slaying six hundred of his men, and capturing his baggage. Ormond withdrew the remnant of his army, but the blow to the new king's cause was a severe one.

Defeat of Ormond.

179. Arrival of Cromwell. In England, the parliament was supreme, though destined soon to be overshadowed by the personal power of Oliver Cromwell. The Irish Royalists were weak. Dublin and other strongholds still remained in the hands of the Parliamentarians. The greater part of Ireland had declared for Charles II, and therefore the English Parliament decided that Ireland must be conquered by the Parliamentarian army. On August 14, 1649, Oliver Cromwell landed at Dublin with eight thousand infantry, four thousand cavalry, twenty thousand pounds in coin, and a large quantity of artillery; he was supported by his son-in-law, Ireton, as second in command. Shortly before this, Cromwell had been appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland by the English Parliament, with an understanding that he should enforce the penal laws against Catholics. He immediately issued two proclamations, one promising pardon and protection to all who submitted to the English Parliament, and the other ordering his soldiers to abstain from violence against the natives of Ireland.

Lands at Dublin.

180. Capture of Drogheda. Ormond had strengthened the defences of Drogheda, and garrisoned it with two thousand foot and three hundred horse, well officered, and well supplied with provisions and ammunition. Immediately upon landing, Cromwell marched thither from Dublin, and ordered the town to surrender. On its refusal, he began a cannonade which lasted two days. Only after the third assault did he succeed in taking the town. Then, in spite of his recent proclamation, he ordered a slaughter of the garrison. Neither the governor nor his officers were spared, and a number of citizens were also slain. A few, who escaped death, were sent as slaves to Barbados.

Massacre of the garrison.

Cromwell's aim was to terrify the Irish into submission. So great was the consternation caused by the massacre at Drogheda, that several strongholds in the north, Newry, Carlingford, Lisburn, and Belfast, as well as Trim and Dundalk surrendered without a blow. Coleraine was betrayed to Sir Charles Coote, and George Monro, who had joined the Royalists, was forced to retire before him, surrendering all Down and Antrim, except the castle of Carrickfergus. Meanwhile Ormond was trying to organize an army to oppose Cromwell.

181. Cromwell takes Wexford. After the capture of Drogheda, Cromwell marched south, to give another example of his pitiless and merciless severity. Wexford was held by a garrison of three thousand men. Cromwell arrived on October 11, 1649, surrounded the town, and opened fire. The news of the betrayal of a castle just beyond the walls caused a panic in the garrison, and the town was speedily taken. Again Cromwell ordered the entire garrison and many of the citizens slaughtered. The report of this massacre had a similar effect to that of Drogheda. Many southern towns, including Cork, surrendered. Cromwell then marched southwest to Youghal, where he decided to rest his army.

A second massacre.

182. Death of Owen Roe O'Neill. To add to the distress of the Irish party, their best general, Owen Roe O'Neill, died suddenly on November 6, 1649, after a brief illness. For seven years he had led his armies to constant victory, while the Norman lords, who were his nominal allies, were secretly opposing him for their own selfish ends. Yet so great was his genius that he won fight after fight, even though the Irish Confederation was a source of weakness rather than strength to the cause for which he was fighting. He alone among the Irish leaders could have met Cromwell on equal terms, and it is greatly to be regretted that history was deprived of the spectacle of a contest between these two masters in the art of war.

183. Cromwell devastates Munster. After Cromwell had rested his troops, he prepared to subdue Munster. The inhabitants of the small towns fled before his army, so that he advanced almost unopposed. Clonmel proved an exception, however. This city was held by Hugh O'Neill, a nephew of Owen Roe, and a commander of considerable ability. Cromwell was repulsed several times before he was finally able to take the town, and in the end succeeded only because O'Neill's supply of ammunition gave out. As he had no hope of reinforcements, O'Neill determined to save his army by secretly retiring toward Waterford by night, and leaving the townspeople to surrender the city, which they did, obtaining favorable terms.

Resistance of Clonmel.

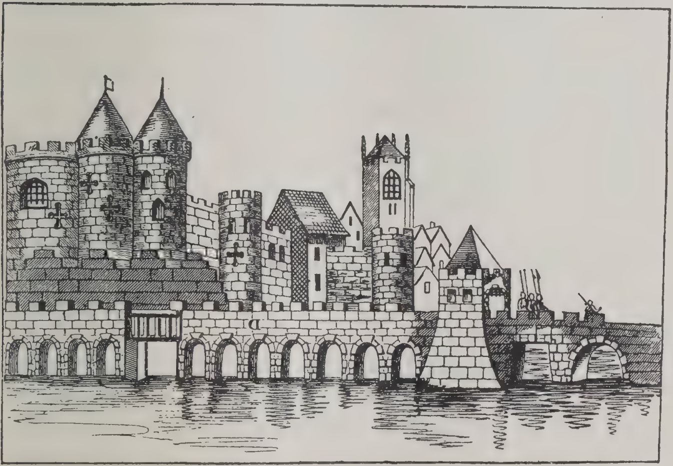
184. **Parliamentarians virtually hold Ireland.** Since the siege of Drogheda, Cromwell had confined his actions to the south. In the north, the Parliamentarian forces, under Colonel Venables and Sir Charles Coote, had gained one victory after another; so that by May, 1650, there was scarcely a fortress left in the hands of the Royalists throughout Ulster. Cromwell's victories in the south completed his command of the island. The Royalists, fighting for Charles II, a most ungrateful sovereign, who deserted them in every difficulty, still held Limerick and a few other towns, but were little to be feared. Cromwell decided to leave Ireland in the care of Ireton, his son-in-law, and returned to England, May 29, 1650.

Cromwell returns to England.

185. **Fall of Limerick.** Ireton now prepared to take Limerick, after having first sent Sir Charles Coote to besiege Athlone, the key to Connaught. Limerick, the last important stronghold of the Royalists, was commanded by Hugh O'Neill, the defender of Clonmel. Limerick lies along the south bank of the Shannon. Ireton first attacked it from the south; then, forcing the

bridge, he renewed his attack from the Clare side, firing his cannon across the river. O'Neill made a brave defence, but circumstances were adverse, and the plague was raging in the town. Half the citizens voted to surrender, while the rest wished to hold out to the last. The fate of the city, as at Wexford, was decided by the treachery of one of the officers, who opened the gates and admitted the enemy, October 27, 1651. This time the garrison was spared, but some of the leaders were executed; among others, Dr. O'Brien, bishop of Emly.

The town betrayed.



LIMERICK IN CHARLES II'S TIME

From a picture in Dineley's Journal. The tower of the cathedral and Thomond bridge are seen in the centre and the castle on the left

A few weeks later, Ireton died of the plague, and General Edmund Ludlow took command. Ludlow captured a few isolated strongholds, and then went to aid Coote, who, having taken Athlone, had

Surrender of Galway.

marched to the west, and laid siege to Galway. After a nine months' siege, the city surrendered in May, 1652.

186. Fleetwood's High Court of Justice. The middle of the year 1652 saw Ireland completely in the hands of the Parliamentarians, and the war for the time being at an end. Charles Fleetwood, who had just married Ireton's widow, the daughter of Oliver Cromwell, was made lord lieutenant of Ireland. He organized a High Court of Justice, to punish the leaders in the rebellion of 1641. This court tried and sentenced to death some two hundred persons, among them Sir Phelim O'Neill, who, it will be remembered, had forged a commission from the king, authorizing him to take possession of Charlemont fort. (See section 165.) On the scaffold he was offered his life and liberty if he would swear to the genuineness of this commission, but he refused. The Parliamentarians wished him to do this, that they might justify their execution of King Charles by proving the latter a traitor to England, showing that he had ordered towns to be surrendered to the Irish enemy.

Execution of Phelim O'Neill.

187. New confiscation in Ireland. The war was over; its results were still to come. Pestilence and famine were raging everywhere, but these were not the worst evils. Cromwell's soldiers had to be paid, and it was decided that they should be rewarded by grants of Irish land. The English Parliament held that the whole of Ireland was liable to confiscation, and passed an act dislodging the Irish land-owners in large tracts of Ulster, Leinster, and Munster.

The process of transplanting was begun in August, 1652. Catholics and Protestants in many cases suffered together; but, on the whole, the persecution of the Catholics was the more cruel. They were ordered to withdraw to Connaught by May 1, 1654. After this date they were outlaws, liable to be murdered by whoever chose to kill them. Moreover, they might not settle within four miles of the sea or a town, or within two miles of the Shannon, the boundary of Connaught. It happened that during this Cromwellian confiscation the greatest sufferers were well-to-do people, who had been accustomed to comfort and even luxury. Now that they were driven from their homes, they passed through dire hardships, wandering in winter along unknown roads, till they came to the miserable little tracts of land allotted to them, in the barren western province. Many, especially the poorer, remained as hired laborers and servants in their own former homes. In Down and Antrim the Presbyterians were treated with equal harshness, because they had sympathized with the cause of the king. They were ordered to surrender their estates, and were transplanted to the forests and hills of Leinster, where the few miserable acres assigned them were hardly enough to keep them from starving.

Extreme cruelty toward Catholics.

Presbyterians suffer.

188. Results of confiscation. The natural result of all this persecution was retaliation and open hostility. Crowds of able-bodied men formed themselves into bands, under the names of "Tories" and "Rapparees," and, vowing vengeance upon the usurpers, attacked the new settlers with fire and sword. They were hunted as outlaws by the settlers, who did all they could to exterminate them.

Bands of outlaws.

It remained to dispose of the large army who had fought for the Royalist cause. They were allowed, or practically compelled, to leave the country, and many of them entered the service of continental nations. Thirty-five thousand enlisted in

Irish soldiers banished.

the armies of France, Spain, Austria, and Venice. The lands of these exiled soldiers, when they had any, were distributed among the Cromwellian soldiers. Widows and orphans were hunted down, and sent as slaves to the West Indies.

Catholicism kept alive.

The brunt of this persecution was borne by the Catholics, whose religious freedom was now fiercely assailed. Zealous priests still worked among the people, enduring awful hardships, but all the old laws had been put in force against them, and they were compelled to preach in secret and remain hidden, to escape imprisonment.

189. The restoration of Charles II. We may pass over the next four or five years, during which the sufferings of Ireland were unalleviated, unless by the absence of actual war. Cromwell died in 1658. His son Richard lacked the force to uphold the system created by his father, and England decided to recall Charles II. He was proclaimed king in 1660 amid general rejoicing throughout the chief towns of Ireland, and a convention voted him a donation of twenty thousand pounds.

Act of Settlement.

The Irish Catholics expected much from this king, who was at heart a Catholic, and for whom they had fought so valiantly and suffered so much. They looked for the restitution of their lands, at the very least. Charles was besieged with claims from all sides, and decided to pay no attention to any. He made provision for a few powerful enemies, but wholly neglected his friends, who had ruined themselves fighting for his cause, in England and Ireland alike. A parliament was summoned in 1661, which passed an Act of Settlement, confirming the Cromwellians in their new holdings, and thus taking away all hope from the dispossessed native owners. Those Catholics who were able to prove that they had taken no part in the rebellion of 1641 were to be compensated by grants of unoccupied land elsewhere. Here the exertions of Charles on behalf of the Catholics ended.

190. Court of Claims. In 1663, a Court of Claims was instituted, to hear cases of disputed estates, and pass judgment upon them. It was soon discovered that nearly all the Catholic land-owners were able to prove that they had not taken part in the rebellion. The new settlers became greatly alarmed. To prevent trouble, the Act of Explanation was passed, in 1665, by which the new settlers agreed to give up one third of their lands to the dispossessed Catholics.

Act of Explanation.

191. Restriction of the cattle trade. In 1663, the English Parliament prepared to strike another blow at the well-being of Ireland. We have seen how the wool trade was destroyed. (See section **162**.) England now made it unlawful to import cattle from Ireland in the second half of each year. Two years later, 1665, a bill was introduced prohibiting the importation of cattle from Ireland at any time. This measure, however, failed to pass the House of Lords.

192. Division of land. To add to the general distress and discontent, the king now began to give large grants of land to his relatives and favorites. The amount of reclaimed and fertile land in Ireland was limited, and there were at least three claimants to every acre. Before the Cromwellian confiscation and the Act of Settlement, the Catholics possessed two thirds of the arable and pasture land, while the remaining third was owned by the Protestants of the plantations made under Elizabeth and James I. Under the new conditions, the Catholics were reduced to one third, while two thirds was left in the hands of the Protestants. It was, of course, impossible to reinstate all the dispossessed Catholics, as there was not land enough for all. The claims of many were never even heard, and the older nobility was to a large degree reduced to penury. The newcomers, on the other hand, were gradually assimilated, as the Danes and the Normans had been before them. They learned the Irish language, gradually adopted Irish customs, and became saturated with the Irish spirit.

Favorable to Protestants.

193. **Rule of the Anglican Church restored.** At this time, the population of Ireland was slightly more than a million; there were about eight hundred thousand Catholics, both Irish and Norman-English; a hundred thousand Anglican Protestants; and two hundred thousand Nonconformists, Presbyterians, Puritans, and Independents, who accepted the Reformation of Luther, but did not follow the ritual of the Church of England. During Cromwell's time, the Nonconformists were the strongest element, and the other two parties were almost equally maltreated. Cromwell oppressed the Anglicans, because they had supported the king; he oppressed the Catholics, because he held them to be children of evil. Charles II now reëstablished the Anglican Church. The Act of Uniformity was enforced against the Presbyterians, who, it should be remembered, had helped the king toward the close of the struggle. They suffered a short but severe persecution, because their clergy refused to receive ordination from the Anglican bishops. Many sailed from Ireland to New England, to find new homes in the Puritan colonies.

Act of Uniformity enforced against Presbyterians.

194. **Catholics again in disfavor.** Meanwhile, the Catholics enjoyed a brief respite. Charles permitted his

lords lieutenant to give them considerable freedom, in spite of the Act of Uniformity. This condition of things was not destined to last. It was at once suspected that the king intended to restore Catholicism throughout his dominions. The pronounced Catholic views of the king's brother and heir, James, duke of York, increased the partisan feeling in England. The plot of Titus Oates, who spread a rumor that the English Catholics had sought to murder King Charles, added fuel to the flames, and, though wholly false, brought the Irish Catholics into disfavor. One oppressive measure after another was passed, so that during the next few years the condition of the Catholics was pitiful in the extreme. Arrests were made, and many were thrown into prison, simply because they were Catholics.

Unjust arrests.

195. James II restores Catholicism. James came to the throne in 1685, determined to restore Catholicism. He was, however, so arbitrary and oppressive that he aroused the whole Protestant population of England against him, and caused a veritable panic among the Protestants of Ireland. He chose, as his agent in Ireland, Richard Talbot, an over-zealous Catholic, whom he made Earl of Tyrconnell, and intrusted with the command of the army. Talbot dismissed the Protestant garrisons, and put Catholics in their place. Most of the dismissed Protestant officers went to Holland, where they enlisted in the service of William, prince of Orange, and, later, followed his standard to England. An ineffective attempt was made to repeal the Act of Settlement (see section 189), with a view to reinstating the banished Irish land-owners, and Protestants were everywhere driven from office, to make room for Catholics. Talbot succeeded in having himself appointed lord lieutenant in 1687.

Tyrconnell becomes lord lieutenant.

196. The Revolution of 1688. The oppressive measures to which James II resorted in England, and his encroachments on the liberty of his subjects, brought about the Revolution of 1688. William, Prince of Orange, the nephew and son-in-law of King James, was invited to take possession of the English throne, an offer which he promptly accepted, landing in Devonshire on November 5, 1688. Six weeks later, James II fled to France.

SUMMARY

The execution of Charles I was looked upon with extreme disfavor by all parties in Ireland except the Parliamentarians, and Charles II was immediately proclaimed king. Cromwell landed in Dublin with a large army on August 14, 1649, determined to subdue the country. He captured Drogheda and Wexford and devastated Munster, carrying terror among the natives wherever he went, on account of his extreme cruelty. By May, 1651, Ireland was virtually subdued, and Cromwell returned to England, leaving Ireton in command. Ireton captured Limerick, 1651, and Galway surrendered to Coote, 1652. Fleetwood's "High Court of Justice" was now instituted, and under its decrees Sir Phelim O'Neill and many others were tried and executed.

Between 1652 and 1654, nearly the whole of Ireland was confiscated. It was a period of great suffering for the Catholics. Charles II was formally restored to the throne in 1660. The "Court of Claims" organized a new division of land in Ireland in favor of the Protestants, and the Anglican Church rule was restored. With the accession of James II, in 1685, the Catholics regained their privileges. But James's tyrannical measures brought him into great disfavor in England, and he was forced to flee to France, leaving his throne to William, Prince of Orange.

CHAPTER XXI

THE JACOBITE WARS

1688–1691

ENGLISH SOVEREIGNS: William and Mary, 1688–1702

197. Attitude of the Irish toward William. The appointment of Tyrconnell as lord lieutenant had filled the Protestants of Ireland with apprehensions, which were allayed by the news that William of Orange had reached England. His claim to the throne came through his descent from Charles I, and his marriage with Mary, daughter of James II. Protestant anxiety was again aroused by the tidings that James had fled to France. It was feared that he would return with a foreign army, and wild rumors of uprisings and impending massacres spread from one garrison to another. In England, and among the Protestant settlers of Ireland William was hailed as a deliverer; but the Irish Catholics, in spite of all they had already suffered from the Stuarts, took the side of James. Consequently William, received with open arms in England, had to fight for every inch of ground in Ireland, before his position was secure.

Very hostile.

198. Ulster a Protestant centre. Tyrconnell headed the adherents of the Stuarts in Ireland, to whom the name of Jacobite was now given, from Jacobus, the Latin form of James. Realizing the condition of affairs in England, Tyrconnell immediately did all

The Jacobites.

in his power to strengthen the position of King James in every part of Ireland. He met with no obstacles, except in Ulster, which, owing to the large numbers of Scottish and English settlers, was strongly Protestant, especially in the cities. Some of these, Derry and Enniskillen among them, refused to recognize the authority of Tyrconnell as lieutenant of James, holding that the latter had already forfeited his crown. Derry was a small town on the left bank of the Foyle, but it was a strong fortress, owing to the sturdy surrounding wall, which is intact to-day. From the right bank of the river, Derry could be reached only by boat. A forged letter, telling of a coming massacre by the Catholics, and the rumored approach of one of the Jacobite leaders, so aroused the citizens of Derry, that, in spite of the governor, they shut the gates, and defied the authority of the lord lieutenant. A few days passed, with neither uprising nor attack. The inhabitants, somewhat reassured, consented to admit two companies of the Jacobite army as a garrison, provided that these soldiers should all be Protestants. Colonel Lundy commanded this new garrison, and was made governor of the city.

Excitement in Derry.

Tyrconnell's actions again aroused the suspicions which were beginning to be allayed. He daily removed Protestants from his army, and filled their places with Catholics. Reports also began to come from England of William's growing power, and these encouraged the Protestants of Ireland to take sides openly against the Stuart king. The people of Derry, who, up to this time, had kept the gates of the city closed in fear of massacre by the Catholics, now declared for William and Mary, as sovereigns of Great Britain and Ireland. Confusion reigned within the town.

Derry proclaims allegiance to William.

Lundy and others, who were inclined to recognize the authority of James, were forced to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary.

199. James comes to Ireland. James had waited in France, at the court of Louis XIV, trying to gather courage and money, until he was thoroughly assured of Catholic support in Ireland. Now with a small French force, and a number of Irish exiles, chief among whom was Sarsfield, he landed at Kinsale in Cork on March 12, 1689. Twelve days later, Lord and Lady Tyrconnell welcomed him to Dublin. In spite of the bitterness of the season, he immediately led his army north toward Derry, where he expected to be received with open arms. He was astonished beyond measure when the citizens began to fire on him from the walls. Within the town everything possible was done to strengthen the fortifications. Protestant fugitives arrived daily from all sides seeking refuge.

His hostile reception at Derry.

After his cold reception at Derry, James withdrew to Dublin, and assembled a parliament there, leaving the siege of Derry in the hands of two of his generals. The parliament spent months in empty talk, since the few acts it passed were never enforced. It attempted to secure religious toleration for all denominations, and to repeal the Act of Settlement (section 189), at the same time providing for the compensation of the Protestant land-holders, who would be dispossessed by the repeal of the act. On the other hand, the lands of William's adherents were confiscated, and debased coin was put into circulation, which, however, was recalled two years later.

James assembles a parliament at Dublin.

200. The siege of Derry. Meanwhile, on April 14, two ships sent by William had reached Derry with supplies and soldiers. Lundy was still anxious to bring about a surrender. He had persuaded many of the townspeople that the city could not stand a siege, with the result that some of the most capable defenders embarked aboard the two ships and sailed away to England. Lundy was suspected of treachery and had to flee. The garrison now numbered seven thousand fighting men, and the defences were strong, but the supply of provisions was very small and the number of refugees very great.

Lundy's treachery.

On April 18, 1689, the real siege of Derry, one of the most famous in Irish or English history, began. Neither defenders nor besiegers were well prepared for their work. The town was ill supplied with food, its leaders inexperienced; while the army of James, which lacked ammunition and military supplies, was scattered and undisciplined. The Jacobite leaders expected the town to surrender after the first real assault, but the courage and determination of the besieged garrison grew daily. Breaches were repaired as fast as they were made. Women and men worked together, full of religious enthusiasm. In a sally made on April 21, one of the two Jacobite generals was killed, but the party which made the sortie was forced to retire after losing heavily.

Conditions in the two armies.

THE CATHEDRAL OF LONDONDERRY
This picture from a contemporary map shows the condition at the time of the siege

During the next two months, fighting went on with varying success and great bloodshed. There was a fort on Windmill Hill, near the south gate of the town, and

Hamilton, now the chief leader of the besiegers, tried to capture it. But the defenders kept up a steady musket fire, killing every man who tried to reach the fort. The Jacobite soldiers were brave, and pushed on, in spite of the hail of bullets, but it was not within their power to take the fort or reach the town. The fight for Windmill Hill was the fiercest contest of the siege. The Irish attacking party lost four hundred men, and their leader, who was taken prisoner. Starvation was meanwhile doing its work within the town, and Hamilton resolved to depend on this ally.

The assault on Windmill Hill.

When the defenders were already feeling the pangs of hunger, thirty ships were seen sailing up Lough Foyle. They were the help promised by William. But their commander was intimidated by the line of Jacobite forts that separated him from the city, and anchored at some distance from the town, but within sight of the heroic defenders. The wonderful courage displayed by the men of Derry in this terrible trial has been described by eye-witnesses as passing belief. In order to prevent the approach of the relief ships, Hamilton ordered a boom of cables and logs to be stretched across the river, two miles below the town.

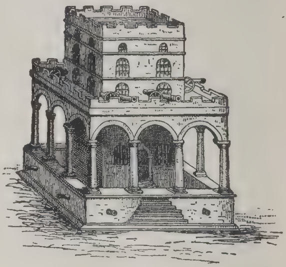
William's ships sail up the lough.

By the end of June, King James, losing patience, sent Marshal Rosen with orders to proceed to extremes. Rosen conceived a shameful plan, which was not approved either by James or by the Irish Jacobites. He sent out soldiers, with orders to gather about a thousand of the poorer Protestant settlers, men, women, and children, from the neighboring regions, and ordered them to be driven into the open space between the besieging army and the city walls. Then he sent a messenger to the people of Derry, announcing that the defenceless settlers would be kept there, to

Rosen's cruelty.

starve beneath the walls, unless the city surrendered. This fiendish device failed. The victims exhorted the defenders to stand firm, and instant death was proclaimed for any one uttering the word "surrender." In answer to Rosen's threat, a large scaffold was erected in sight of the Jacobite army, and the prisoners taken from that army were gathered beside it. Word was then sent to Rosen, that, unless the settlers were released, the Jacobite prisoners would all be hanged on the next morning. Among the prisoners were many officers, who wrote to Hamilton to use his influence with Rosen. The French commander was afraid to put his evil plan into execution, and released the settlers, a number of whom had already perished.

The Derrymen's reply.



THE TOWN-HOUSE AT LONDONDERRY

This building was erected in 1620 for military as well as civil purposes, and was destroyed during the siege.

Relief.

Meanwhile starvation was doing its work. Horseflesh was sold at exorbitant prices within the walls, and the ships still failed to come to the relief of the city. Finally, when the defenders were at the end of their resources, the commander of the fleet made an attempt to reach the town, and, on July 28, three of his ships sailed up the Foyle, broke the boom, and reached the water-front of the city, in spite of the heavy fire of the land batteries. Hamilton, seeing that all danger of famine was over, and that the garrison was strengthened, gave up the siege July 31, and withdrew his army. The town was saved after a memorable siege of a hundred and five days.

201. Battle of Enniskillen. Enniskillen, on an island in Lough Erne, and protected by a strong castle, had, like Derry, refused to recognize the authority of Tyrconnell, and James had sent a small force against it. The colonists bravely defended themselves, and the expedition ended in a shameful rout rather than a battle, for the Jacobites seem hardly to have struck a blow. This contest took place July 30, the day before the relief of Derry. A second stronghold was thus in the hands of William's adherents, and with Derry formed a base of operations against the Jacobite forces.

Jacobites routed.

202. Schomberg takes Carrickfergus. The siege of Derry was only the beginning of the struggle for Ireland between William and James. William's position in England was now quite secure, and a month after Hamilton retired from Derry, William sent the Duke of Schomberg to Ireland with fifteen thousand men. This army landed near Bangor, on the south shore of Belfast Lough. Schomberg refused to negotiate with the Jacobite garrisons gathered at Carrickfergus, and at once laid siege to the town, which surrendered after a week, in August, 1689. The garrison was allowed to depart with arms and supplies.

203. Sickness in the English army. Schomberg now made a serious mistake. He followed the retreating Jacobites as far as Dundalk. Here he encamped, in a very unfavorable position, to await reinforcements. These were a long time coming, as William was short of funds. Schomberg's camp was in the midst of marshy ground, and disease soon broke out among his soldiers. Meanwhile James was threatening an attack from the south, so that Schomberg was forced to fortify his camp. Sickness spread, until eight thousand of William's men died in this way in winter

Soldiers die by thousands.

quarters. Schomberg, who was over eighty years of age, was untiring in his effort to relieve his troops, but the mischief was already done.

204. Arrival of William. Schomberg opened the spring campaign by taking Fort Charlemont on the northern Blackwater, the only place that still held out for James in the north. On June 14, 1690, King William came to Ireland to lead his army in person. His troops were largely made up of continental veterans, excellent soldiers from Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and Prussia, and in his train were Prince George of Denmark and the Duke of Ormond. One of his first acts was to pension the Nonconformist ministers in Ulster who had been foremost in upholding his cause.

His foreign troops.

205. Battle of the Boyne, July 1, 1690. The rival kings were now to meet in a decisive battle. James, at the head of twenty-six thousand men, poorly drilled and miserably armed, had taken a position at the village of Oldbridge, on the south bank of the Boyne, three miles above Drogheda. William advanced steadily southward toward James's army. The latter was such an incapable general that he did not even throw up trenches to defend the ford of the Boyne. William's army arrived on June 29, and encamped on the north bank of the river, and on the day following an artillery duel was begun between the two armies. Considerable injury was inflicted on William's forces, although he was far better supplied with artillery than was James. During the night, James, already certain that he was going to be beaten, sent all but six of his guns back to Dublin. He also made preparations for his own escape, and then retired to a little church on the hill of Donore, where he could safely watch the battle.

Artillery contest.

When the battle was resumed on the next day, July 1, William's army numbered between forty-five and fifty thousand, with probably four or five thousand cavalry. James had from twenty to twenty-five thousand men, with the same proportion of horse. By his own fault, he had only six guns against about fifty in William's batteries. William's line of battle was formed with the infantry in the centre and the cavalry on the wings. He gave Schomberg the elder command of the centre, while the younger Schomberg, son of the old general, was sent four or five miles up the river to Slane, in command of the right wing. He was to cross at Slane, and turn the left flank of James's army. William himself commanded the cavalry on the left wing. Later in the day he went down the river, and crossed at a lower ford. He was thus able to attack his

WILLIAM AT THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE

The arrangement of the English forces.

opponents on the right flank also. Meanwhile the infantry forming the centre of his army advanced under cover of a heavy artillery fire to ford the Boyne.

The river at that point was shallow, and in the middle of summer could be very easily forded. It was, therefore, only a slight protection for James. William's right, under the younger Schomberg, made several unsuccessful attempts to cross the river at Slane, but it was repeatedly driven back by Arthur O'Neill's horse. Finally the way was cleared by a vigorous cannonade to which O'Neill was unable to reply. William's right wing was thus able to cross the Boyne.

William's cavalry crosses the river.

The centre of the English army now advanced, and began to cross the Boyne, supported by the artillery. The Irish troops fought so well that Schomberg's bodyguard was cut to pieces, and he himself was killed. The centre of William's army was undoubtedly being beaten back, when, crossing lower down, with eighteen squadrons of cavalry, he fiercely attacked the right flank of the Irish army, and thus turned possible defeat into certain victory. That the Irish troops, although outnumbered two to one, and led by a coward, fought valiantly, is admitted by all. They charged ten times in succession, and only gave way at the last under pressure of greatly superior numbers. Their main body retreated in good order to Dublin, and later to Limerick, in spite of William's efforts to intercept them.

The Irish retreat.

James fled from the battlefield as soon as he saw that fortune was against his army. Arriving in Dublin, he called a council of the Catholic magistrates and officials, and declared his intention of ceasing his opposition to William. He then fled with all haste to Waterford, burning the bridges as he crossed

Flight of King James.

them to prevent pursuit. There he embarked for France, and landed at Brest, bringing the first news of his own defeat.

206. Tyrconnell's duplicity. Within a week after the battle of the Boyne, the Irish army occupied Limerick, and made preparations to hold that strong position, relying on the untouched resources of Connaught, and the help which the runaway king might possibly send them by sea. Tyrconnell, who hoped to make his peace with King William, secure his Irish estates, and very possibly be appointed lord lieutenant, was steadily seeking to undermine the resolution of the Irish army.

207. Attempt to take Athlone. William marched on to Dublin, where he was welcomed by the large English colony. He issued a proclamation, granting pardon to all the Irish soldiers who would lay down their arms. In this offer the Catholic gentry were not included, owing to the bigotry of William's counsellors, who hoped, as in former days, to gain possession of the confiscated estates.

William's proclamation.

William now prepared to open his second campaign. Waterford and Kilkenny surrendered by Tyrconnell's orders. The chief strength of the Irish now lay along the river Shannon. Here it was determined to form a line of defence, and, from the two strongholds, Limerick and Athlone, to keep the English out of Connaught. A section of William's army, numbering twelve thousand men, was sent to take Athlone, which was valiantly defended for seven days, when Sarsfield's approach compelled the English to withdraw, as he threatened their line of supplies. Athlone was none the worse for this attack.

English retire before Sarsfield.

SUMMARY

With the exception of Ulster, all Ireland declared allegiance to James, and looked upon William as a usurper. Derry and Enniskillen, two of the principal strongholds in Ulster, were active Protestant centres, and promptly proclaimed their allegiance to William. James landed at Kinsale on March 12, 1689, and immediately marched against Derry. The siege that followed is the most famous in Irish history. After a hundred and five days of heroic defence and extreme suffering, the city was relieved on July 30, 1689. The Protestants won the battle of Enniskillen and captured Carrickfergus. During the winter of 1689–90 the English, under Schomberg, suffered severe losses through sickness. In the spring William came himself to Ireland and defeated James in the decisive battle of the Boyne, July 1, 1690. James fled to France.

CHAPTER XXII

TREATY OF LIMERICK

1690–1693

English Sovereigns : William and Mary, 1688–1702

208. First siege of Limerick. King William arrived before Limerick on August 9, 1690, and began to prepare for a long siege. The French general, Lauzun, and the Earl of Tyrconnell, who were in command of the garrison, at once proposed to surrender, but were opposed by Sarsfield, who did not share their view that Limerick was incapable of defence. Lauzun and Tyrconnell retired to Galway with all the French troops and a great deal of much-needed ammunition, and Limerick was left with about twenty-five thousand Irish defenders, who determined, if need be, to emulate the heroism of Derry. They met William's summons to surrender with a refusal, and made vigorous preparations for defence, while a party under Sarsfield cut off one of William's convoys from Dublin, destroying the siege guns, which were being brought for the attack on the city. Although the English had been short of guns and ammunition, they had begun operations when news of the loss of the siege guns reached them. Discouraged, they suspended the attack for a week, during which the defenders were able to strengthen the walls and add to the defences. Unfortunately, Sarsfield was not able to bring back the

Departure of the French troops.

Sarsfield captures William's baggage train.

cannons and powder he had captured, so he exploded the powder, and contented himself with taking the horses.

Limerick was the second city in Ireland, Dublin alone being more important. As was the case with many Irish cities, it had an Irish and an English quarter. The English part was built on an island in the Shannon, and contained the cathedral and castle, while the Irish quarter was on the south bank of the river, and was connected with the other quarter by a bridge. High walls surrounded the entire town, from which the defenders fired upon the assailants in the trenches. Frequent sorties were made, during which every foot of ground was fiercely contested. William's guns demolished the high towers, and also covered the operations of the men in the trenches. He then concen-

PATRICK SARSFIELD

Bombardment begun.

trated all his force on one point, hoping to make a breach. Combustibles were hurled on the roofs of the houses, so that the city caught fire in several directions. The town was connected by a bridge with the Clare side of the Shannon, and across this bridge the women and children were sent into safety.

Assault made.

Finally a breach was made in the wall, and William determined to enter by assault. On the afternoon of August 27, he ordered a detachment of five hundred grenadiers, followed by ten thousand foot-soldiers and horse, to prepare for the attack. When the signal was given a rush was made from the trenches toward the breach. The assailants were stunned by a hail of bullets and shot, but succeeded in reaching the opening in the wall, and forcing their way inside. Here they ran into a rude rampart of earth, from the top of which cannon-balls and bullets rained down on them. Retreat was out of the question, so the English pushed forward in spite of the cannon which mowed them down at every step, while the Irish steadily retreated. The townspeople, seeing the defenders thus falling back, joined in the conflict with whatever weapons they could lay hands on.

Bravery of the Prussians.

The English retreat.

Chief among William's foreign troops were the Prussians, who distinguished themselves by conspicuous daring. They had entered the city with the rest, and centred their attack on the Black Battery, which they took after a bloody fight. Owing to carelessness the powder-vaults exploded, and men and battery were blown to pieces. Steady fighting had been going on for four hours, without any great headway being made, when the English lost courage, and began to withdraw. Suddenly they rushed in a panic back through the breach, leaving two thousand of their bravest dead inside the wall. The losses of the Irish were comparatively small.

William returns to England.

In this unsuccessful attack, King William had seen some of his best troops slaughtered. Besides, the wet months were approaching, with their threat of sickness. Thoroughly disgusted, he decided to give up the siege, and withdrew to Waterford, whence he sailed for England, leaving the conduct of the Irish war in the hands of his generals.

Severe losses for the Irish.

209. Capture of Cork and Kinsale. When William embarked for England on September 5, 1690, he left Ginkel and Count Solmes, two of his most competent generals, in command, with orders to lead an expedition against Cork and Kinsale, two towns which afforded the Irish easy communication with France. Reinforcements arrived to aid Ginkel, and both towns surrendered after short but severe sieges, and their garrisons were taken prisoners. With the capture of Cork and Kinsale, the Irish lost much more than had been gained by the successful defence of Limerick. These two cities surrendered in the end of September, and nothing more was accomplished that year.

Tyrconnell had meanwhile followed his runaway king to France, and was entangled in plots and counterplots, the one clear principle of which was the future advancement of Tyrconnell. Louis XIV, who had reasons of his own for wishing to keep William's army locked up in Ireland, was altogether willing to advise and help a continuance of hostilities in that country. James seems to have recognized his own incapacity too clearly to attempt anything definite, or, as is more probable, was too irresolute by nature even to decide to give up the fight. The Irish army was thoroughly determined to fight to the end.

210. Disorder in both armies. During the next few months, desultory fighting went on in various parts of Ireland. The armies were partly disbanded, and partly in winter quarters. Some of the disbanded Irish formed themselves into roving bands under the name of "Rapparees," and roamed about committing acts of plunder and outrage. They burned villages, and killed the inhabitants, especially English settlers and Protestants. General Ginkel did what he could to check these depredations, but was not able to effect much.

"Rapparees."

RICHARD TALBOT, EARL AND DUKE OF TYRCONNELL
From a contemporary portrait

211. Aid from France proves disappointing. In January, 1691, Tyrconnell, the deserter of Limerick, returned from France, "but he brought with him no soldiers, very few arms, little provision, and no money," at least not enough to pay the Irish troops. Besides, he was daily becoming more unpopular with the soldiers, because he steadily advised submission to William. A month later, a message came direct to Sarsfield, then with the army at Galway, promising reinforcements under the renowned French soldier, General Saint Ruth. This letter to a great extent revealed the double part Tyrconnell had been playing at the French court, and did much to undermine his credit with the Irish officers.

Evidence of Tyrconnell's duplicity.

The French fleet finally arrived at Limerick in May, 1691, under Saint Ruth, and brought a considerable quantity of provisions for the Irish troops; but it is doubtful whether this arrival added any real strength to the Irish army. Saint Ruth, who was a conceited, overbearing man, was placed in command over Sarsfield, a bad arrangement, since the Irish general was as good a soldier, much more familiar with the country, and very popular with the soldiers.

Arrival of Saint Ruth.

212. Ginkel captures Athlone. Notwithstanding his inferior numbers, Ginkel now marched against Athlone, opening the way by the capture of Fort Ballymore, in West Meath. Athlone was almost as important as Limerick. The Irish army there was encamped on a strip of land two miles from the Shannon. On June 19, 1691, Ginkel managed to take the English part of the town before Saint Ruth arrived with help, so that the latter put all his efforts into the defence of the Irish quarter, and, with this intention, had earthworks thrown up along the river-banks. The English cannon soon made short work of these, as well as of the castle walls. Ginkel then attempted to cross

English quarter captured.

Daring of the Irish.

the bridge into Connaught, and for several days his passage was fiercely contested. The Irish broke down one arch of the bridge, but, under the protection of his batteries, Ginkel succeeded in having planks thrown across the opening. This was no sooner accomplished than a sergeant, at the head of ten Irishmen, rushed to the bridge, under a deadly fire, and dislodged the planks. This brave act was repeated several times, until the English commander saw that it would be impossible to force the bridge.

CASTLE OF ATHLONE
Representing the castle about 1830. This castle was built by the early Norman invaders

Cannonading had been going on for ten days, but the town was still as firm as ever. Ginkel was completely discouraged, and wished to discontinue his attack, but his council of war advised him to make one more attempt. A short distance below the bridge was a ford, just passable in dry weather, and only wide enough for twenty to cross abreast. The footing was insecure, and in some places the water reached the necks of the soldiers. Across this ford two thousand of Ginkel's men made their way in the face of the Irish batteries. Saint Ruth had been warned of this move by a deserter; but he did nothing beyond sending two of his weakest regiments to guard the ford. He absolutely refused to consult the Irish chiefs, or to inform them of his plans. The result was that, when Ginkel's men had crossed the ford, Athlone was taken in half an hour, while the Irish army was resting in camp (June 30, 1691). The garrison, which consisted of five hundred men, surrendered. Twelve hundred of the defenders had fallen during the siege.

Saint Ruth's culpable carelessness.

Ginkel for the third time proclaimed that the king would pardon all who laid down their arms, and, in spite of the opposition of fortune-hunters, this proclamation was immediately indorsed by the civil government at Dublin. Saint Ruth did all he could to keep his soldiers from submitting. He was thoroughly alarmed at the result of his neglect at Athlone and fearful lest he might incur the displeasure of his king, Louis XIV. He therefore determined to take the first opportunity to win a battle. The taking of Athlone left the road to Galway open, and Ginkel prepared to advance on that place, as the chief stronghold of Connaught, the last unsubdued province. Saint Ruth prepared to resist Ginkel's approach, and retired to the village of Aughrim, " the hill of the horses," where he selected an excellent position.

Efforts to end the war.

Unsuccessful.

213. Battle of Aughrim. Saint Ruth drew up his army along a hilly ridge, at the foot of which a wide marsh protected his front. There were only two narrow paths across the marsh. The Irish army, composed of about ten thousand foot, two thousand men at arms, and two thousand horse, was drawn up in two lines, with Sarsfield in command of the cavalry some distance away. Ginkel appeared on July 12, and approached near enough to use his guns, hoping by that means to force Saint Ruth from his advantageous position on the hill. But the Irish, encouraged by the presence and generalship of Saint Ruth, kept their ground, and beat the English as often as they advanced. The fight lasted from noon till sunset, the Irish steadily gaining, and Saint Ruth was on the point of making the victory complete by a cavalry charge when an unlucky shot killed him. The loss of their leader caused a sudden panic among the Irish, and Ginkel, observing the disorder, commanded his army to advance. The Irish cavalry, discouraged, fell back, while the infantry continued fighting till they were surrounded by the whole of the English army, so that nearly all of them were cut off from escape. Had Saint Ruth not refused to confide his plans to Sarsfield, the latter might have filled his place and saved the day for the Irish.

Irish have the advantage.

Saint Ruth killed.

The Irish break and flee.

214. Surrender of Galway and Sligo. Ginkel's soldiers slept that night on the battlefield. A few days later, they reached Galway, which surrendered July 21, on very favorable terms. The garrison was permitted to withdraw, and the inhabitants left in enjoyment of all their rights. Sligo surrendered, and received the same treatment. The garrisons of these two towns, thus permitted to depart, went south to swell the defence of Limerick.

215. The second siege of Limerick. The war was now drawing to a close. Limerick was almost the only stronghold still in the hands of the Jacobites. Sarsfield was in command, as Tyrconnell had died during the autumn. Ginkel now turned his attention to this fortress and appeared before the city with his army on August 30, 1691, just a year after the first siege. Ginkel took the precaution to post vessels at various points along the river, to prevent the coming of supplies. He then placed his cannon and mortars in position, and began a bombardment which continued night and day without intermission, until the city was reduced almost to ashes. In order to reach the Clare side, Ginkel built a bridge of boats across the Shannon. Over this he sent a detachment, which repulsed the Irish and cut the cavalry off from the town. On September 24, Limerick asked for a truce.

Bridge of boats.

216. End of the war. The winter months were approaching, Ginkel's forces were exhausted, and William's position in England was not as firm as might have been wished. It was clearly advisable to end the struggle, if possible, on reasonable terms. The Irish, on their side,

LIMERICK TO-DAY

Showing the Thomond bridge, castle, and cathedral tower. It is interesting to compare this with the picture in Charles II's time on page 205 realizing that they could not hold out much longer without help from abroad, which they had small prospect of receiving, also wished to end the war. Accordingly, on October 3, 1691, a treaty of peace was signed which brought the war to a close. Ginkel and the English lords justices signed for the English, while Sarsfield, now earl of Lucan, and others, represented the Irish.

The treaty of Limerick.

This treaty, known as the treaty of Limerick, was shortly after ratified by King William, and it was no fault of his that its terms were violated. No sooner had the Irish agreed to end the war, than, contrary to all their expectations, a French fleet of twenty transports, with three thousand soldiers, two hundred officers, and ammunition for ten thousand men, sailed up the Shannon. Sarsfield honorably refused to receive them, and they returned to France.

217. Terms of the treaty of Limerick. The treaty was in two parts, one referring to civil affairs, one to the army. It contained in all forty-two articles. The most important of the civil regulations referred to the Catholics and the estates of those who had fought for King James. The first article read : —

Religious liberty.

"The Roman Catholics of this kingdom shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion as are consistent with the laws of Ireland, or as they did enjoy in the reign of King Charles II ; and their Majesties King William and Queen Mary (as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a parliament in this kingdom) will endeavor to procure the said Roman Catholics such further security in that particular as may preserve them from any disturbance upon the account of their said religion."

Furthermore, in the ninth article, "the oath to be administered to such Roman Catholics as submit to their Majesties' government shall be the oath (of allegiance) aforesaid, and no other."

It will be remembered that during the reign of Charles II the Catholics had enjoyed more freedom than at any period since the Reformation. By the treaty of Limerick, those who had fought as Jacobites were permitted to keep the property they owned under Charles II, and to follow their professions and occupations unhindered.

What became of the soldiers.

The most important of the military articles provided that the garrison should be allowed to leave Limerick, and that all officers and soldiers should be free either to leave Ireland for some other country, on ships provided by the government, or to enlist in the armies of William and Mary. Only about a thousand soldiers joined the English army, while many thousands took service in foreign lands, distinguishing themselves and their country on foreign battlefields. (See section 332.) A great many, the famous Sarsfield among them, went to France, and died in the service of the French king. The war which was now ended had cost England immense sums, and had left Ireland devastated and poverty-stricken.

More land grants.

King William was well disposed toward the people of Ireland, and was fully determined to keep the terms of the treaty, but, like many other sovereigns, he was tempted to reward his followers with grants of land. He made Ginkel earl of Athlone and gave him 26,000 acres; while to others he gave even larger estates. This revived the old contests, as he could not restore and bestow the land at the same time.

218. The Parliament of 1692. Notwithstanding the provisions of the treaty of Limerick for toleration of Catholic worship, the next parliament, which was summoned by Lord Sydney on October 5, 1692, and which, with the exception of the Dublin Parliament summoned by James II, was the first since 1665, destroyed the hopes of the Catholics. It was strongly Protestant, and in spite of Sydney's opposition immediately passed an act framing an oath to declare the doctrines of the Catholic Church false. This was a direct violation of the ninth article of the treaty of Limerick, which only required the Catholics to take the oath of allegiance, and raised no question of doctrine. The few Catholics present rose and left both houses. This parliament also passed an act which may be said to mark the beginning of the long parliamentary struggle which we are approaching. It declared itself independent of the English Parliament, and, on the strength of that position, rejected a financial bill from England, on the ground that it had not originated with the Commons of Ireland. The parliament was dissolved in the following year, 1693.

219. Third great confiscation. Now took place the third great confiscation of lands within the century. The first followed the Geraldine rebellion and the flight of the earls. (See section 152.) The second was in Cromwell's time. (See section 187.) The new distribution of territory left only one seventh of the whole island in the possession of the Catholics, though they were three times as numerous as their Protestant neighbors.

SUMMARY

King William opened the attack on Limerick on August 9, 1690, but after a long siege was forced to give up the attempt to take the town, which was defended most valiantly by Sarsfield and the Irish. The king in disgust returned to England, leaving Ginkel in command. Cork and Kinsale surrendered to Ginkel.

In January, 1691, Saint Ruth arrived from France. Ginkel attacked Athlone and, after a siege, took it, owing to the carelessness of the French commander. At the battle of Aughrim, July 12, 1691, Saint Ruth was killed and the Irish, although they fought bravely, were defeated. The surrender of Galway followed.

On August 30, 1691, Ginkel began the second siege of Limerick. The city was still undefeated when the war was brought to an end by the treaty of Limerick, October 3, 1691. The terms of this treaty provided for the security of the Catholics, requiring them to take only the oath of allegiance. Their estates were to remain intact. The Parliament of 1692 violated the first of these conditions, and another great confiscation of land followed, making the fulfilment of the second impossible.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE PENAL LAWS

1693–1782

English Sovereigns:

William and Mary, 1688-1702	George II, 1727–1760
Anne, 1702–1714	George III, 1760–1820
George I, 1714–1727	

220. Violation of the treaty of Limerick. The terms of the treaty of Limerick, had they been faithfully carried out, would have brought a measure of well-being to Ireland, and opened the way for steady improvement, toleration, and unity. Unfortunately, these fair prospects were not to be realized. On the contrary, Ireland now entered on a century of the worst oppression in her history. From 1691 to 1782 was a period of absolute dependence on the English Parliament. During this time, the settlers, or rather the Anglican minority, a party comprising barely one third of the Protestants in the kingdom, and not more than one eleventh of the whole population, were dominant in the country, and directed the course of the Irish Parliament, which became nothing more than the instrument of the Parliament of England. So long as the wishes of the latter were carried out absolutely, the Irish body was permitted to retain its nominal power. The Catholics were completely disheartened. Their strongest leaders were on the continent, fighting under foreign standards. At home, no Catholic could

Dependence of the Irish Parliament.

sit in parliament, hold any office, or have any voice in the government. They were utterly crushed, and sought only to escape further injury. Added to all this came the violation of the treaty of Limerick by the adoption of the penal laws, which remained in force for about three quarters of a century. These laws were as much the work of the Irish Anglican party as of the English Parliament, if not more. The laws, which were rapidly made, were slowly repealed, as we shall see, and not until 1829 did the Act of Emancipation finally secure unconditional freedom for the long-suffering Catholics.

Absolute subjection of the Catholics.

There is much to be told before we finally reach that act, however. We cannot here go into the details of each separate act as it was passed. We shall simply give an outline of the Penal Code at its worst, as it was during the reigns of the early Georges, when, at the close of each session of the Irish Parliament, a resolution was passed that "it was the indispensable duty of all magistrates and officers to put the laws made to prevent the growth of popery in Ireland in due execution."

In 1693, after Sydney had dissolved his parliament, he was summoned back to England, and a new lord lieutenant was appointed, who was willing to promise that the treaty of Limerick should be ignored. The Protestants hoped that he would permit no acts to be passed which might prevent their retaining the lands they had received through confiscation.

Sydney recalled.

221. Penal laws of 1695–97. The first real mischief was done by the Parliament of 1695, which ignored the more important articles of the treaty of Limerick, and only confirmed the minor articles after modifying them in such a manner as to lessen the security of the Catholics. It then passed the following penal laws: —

Catholics were strictly forbidden to teach either in private or in public, and Catholic parents were not allowed to send their children out of Ireland to be educated. This meant absolute lack of education for Catholics.

The Catholics whose lands had been restored to them by the treaty of Limerick were again deprived of them by parliament, which gave the estates to Protestants.

No Catholic was permitted to own or carry firearms, and the government officials were authorized to break into any house where they suspected that arms were hidden.

No Catholic could remain secure in the possession of a valuable horse ; any Protestant could become its owner, on paying the small sum of five pounds.

Severity toward the priests.

Catholic priests in charge of parishes were not to be removed, provided they registered their names, and gave promises of good behavior. They were then allowed to celebrate mass, but might not have the assistance of a curate. About a thousand were allowed to enter their names. All the remaining servants of the Catholic Church, whether bishops, regular clergy, Jesuits, friars, monks, or members of one of the preaching orders, were ordered to leave the country before May 1, 1698, under penalty of death if they returned. Thus it was proposed to wipe out the entire body of Catholic teachers, as, in the absence of bishops, no further priests could be ordained. Needless to say, only a few obeyed the decree. The rest remained, as outlaws, it is true, but venerated and cherished by the people, whose faith and courage they preserved, though in daily danger of discovery and death.

Many other vexatious laws were passed, as, for example, one which required Catholics to tear down the steeples and belfries of their churches ; and others, conceived in the same spirit.

222. English Parliament passes laws for Ireland. The English Parliament now proceeded to interfere in the making of laws for Ireland. It passed an act substituting other oaths for the oath of supremacy, with the effect that Catholics were excluded from both houses of parliament. The acts of the parliament which James II had assembled at Dublin (see section **199**) were annulled. Through the influence of the Irish Parliament, William was prevailed on to sanction a new destruction of the wool manufacture, and laws were passed to encourage the growth of hemp and flax in place of wool. In 1698, such high duties were placed on exported wool as to completely stop its exportation. Any one accused of evading this law was subject to trial in England, by a foreign jury, though this was absolutely contrary to the spirit of the English constitution.

JAMES BUTLER, SECOND DUKE OF ORMOND

223. Penal Codes of 1703 and 1704. The Catholics bowed their heads in submission to these outrages, for they were too weak and disheartened to resist. Still, the Anglican party was not satisfied, and in 1704, when Ormond, grandson of the Ormond of Confederation days (see section 170), came over as lord lieutenant, the House of Commons at Dublin immediately petitioned him to extend the Penal Code. A supply of £150,000 was voted to cover the expenses of that and the following year, and a list of grievances drawn up by the new parliament to present to Queen Anne, who, in 1702, had succeeded her brother-in-law William on the English throne. Among these grievances were the interference of the English legislature, restrictions on trade, the infrequent meetings of parliament, and other similar complaints.

List of grievances ignored.

The English government paid no attention to this appeal. Instead, the chief results of the session were the following new provisions against Catholics:—

The eldest son of a Catholic land-owner, if he declared himself a Protestant, could straightway oust his father and take possession of his land. The father became a mere life tenant, with no rights of ownership.

Family relations of Catholics strictly regulated.

If a Catholic child professed to be a Protestant, the law required the father to surrender the child to a Protestant guardian, who was to bring him up at the father's expense.

If the wife of a Catholic became a Protestant, she could claim separate support, and a third of her husband's property.

No Catholic could be legal guardian of a child, so that, when a Catholic died, he could only appoint a Protestant guardian for his children.

Catholic land-owners oppressed.

No Catholic could buy land or lease it for a longer period than thirty-one years; nor could he receive an estate under a will. A Catholic farmer was not permitted to make a profit on his farm greater than one third of the rent. A Protestant who proved that a greater profit was being made could seize the land in question. All this was done to put obstacles in the way of Catholics owning any land whatever.

224. The Test Act. Of course it has not been forgotten that no Catholic could sit in parliament. As for the native Irish, they were considered so far outside and beneath the law that there was no need to oppress them legally. After 1704, no Catholic was permitted to vote at an election for a member of parliament, unless he took the oath declaring that the Catholic doctrines were false. He could hold no civil or military office without taking the same oath, and supplementing it by the "sacramental test," that is, receiving the Sacrament on Sunday in some Protestant place of worship, according to the rites of the Anglican Church. This act, which was known as the Test Act, was enforced not only in the case of Catholics, but also of all Nonconformists, that is, Protestants who did not conform to the Church of England. This bill was an utter violation of the terms of the treaty of Limerick.

Enforced against all Nonconformists.

225. The Schism Act. The Schism Act, which was passed in 1714, the last year of Queen Anne's reign, provided that only those who had received a license from a bishop of the Church of England could teach a school. Nor could any one secure this license without submitting to the sacramental test.

226. A third instalment of penal laws. A third series of penal restrictions was imposed in the second year of George II's reign, 1728. Under these, the Catholics were completely disfranchised, losing every right to vote. No Catholic might move into the cities of Limerick and Galway, the two last strongholds of the old race. Any one discovering a bishop or a Jesuit unregistered, or a schoolmaster whose

Catholics completely disfranchised.

name was not in the government books, could report such a person, and receive a reward, which the Catholics were forced to pay. The "sport of priest-hunting" became very popular with the dregs of the population, Portuguese Jews being employed as trackers.

227. Enforcement of the Penal Code. There were certainly sufficiently severe provisions in these penal laws to destroy Irish Catholics and Catholicism together, had they been rigidly carried out. This was, however, impossible, since the party which upheld them was a very small minority, though armed with the full powers of the civil law. It should be said, also, that the bulk of the Protestants protested against these laws, and did much, in a quiet way, to lighten them for their oppressed Catholic fellow-countrymen, protecting their property and children from the injustice of the officials. This was in part due to the fact that Protestant Nonconformists were also under the ban of the law, but in larger part to the inherent kindness of human nature.

Not always strict.

But there were periods of awful severity and oppression, especially just after the passing of a new restrictive act, when for a time the Penal Code was carried out to the letter. The worst suffering was endured during Queen Anne's reign, and again under George II, and yet, in spite of it all, we find the Irish Parliament complaining to England of the continued growth of Irish Catholicism. Ulster Presbyterians and other Nonconformists who also suffered under the Test and Schism Acts emigrated by thousands to America.

Spread of Catholicism.

Emigration.

In considering this legislation, it must be borne in mind that a similar state of affairs existed in other lands at the same time. Only in Ireland, however, did a small minority try to suppress the religion of a whole nation, on whose confiscated lands they lived, and whose revenues they enjoyed. What stamps the Irish penal laws as particularly infamous is, that they represented not only religious bigotry, oppression, and cruelty, but also a broken promise, a violation of the solemn pledges of the treaty of Limerick, under whose provisions the Irish leaders had consented to end the war, and had dismissed the army of relief which had already reached Limerick from Catholic France.

Conditions in Ireland compared with other countries.

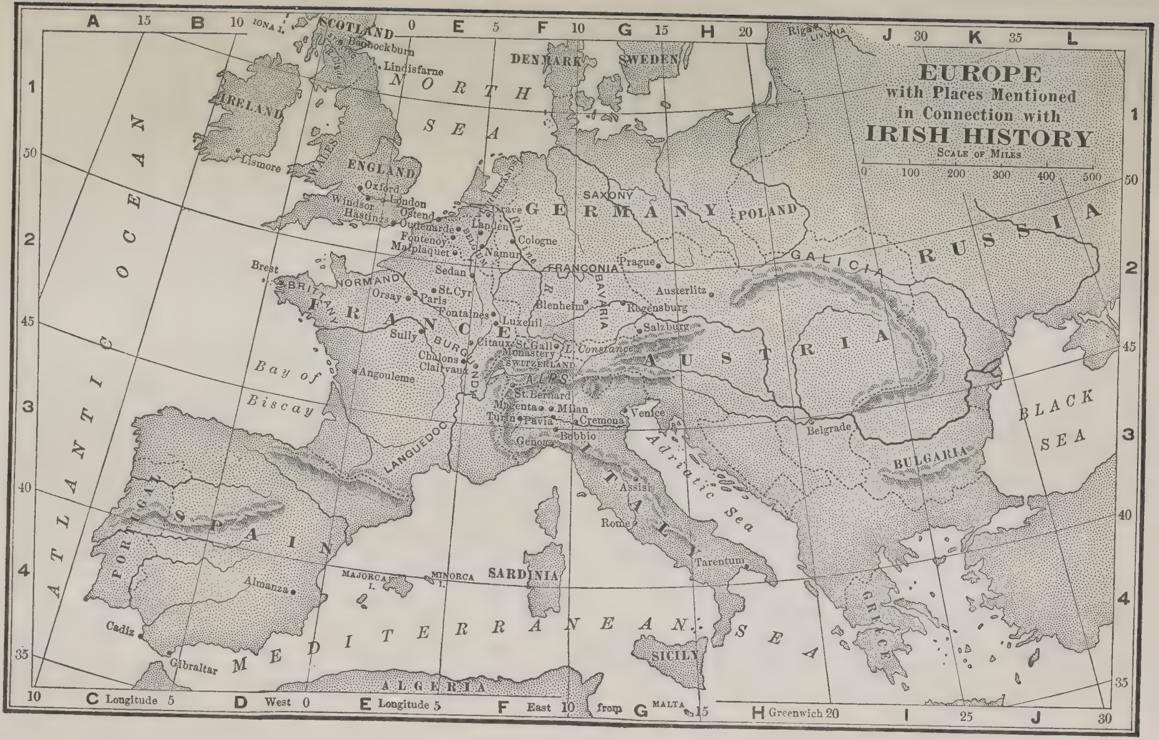
228. **Manufactures and trade prosperous.** The only occupations left open to the Catholics by the penal laws were commerce and trade. The large seaports and towns had been gradually filled with energetic merchants, mostly Protestants, who, in spite of the wars and other disturbances, were building up large factories and other business enterprises. The English began to fear successful rivalry, with the result that repressive laws were directed against trade and commerce, injuring all Irishmen alike, of whatever race and creed, and ruining the only activity left to the Catholics.

Jealousy of England.

These laws were passed in the same period which saw the growth of the penal laws. They were particularly the work of the Parliament of England, and are thus distinguished from the penal laws, the chief responsibility for which must be borne by the Anglican Church in Ireland. The Irish Protestants suffered more than the Catholics under the trade laws, as they were more largely engaged in commerce.

Severe trade laws passed.

229. **Parliament prohibits exportation.** Ireland had always exported a great variety of products, such as cattle, sheep, pork, beef, mutton, cheese, and butter, her


EUROPE
with Places Mentioned
in Connection with
IRISH HISTORY
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
Bay of Biscay
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Adriatic Sea
BLACK SEA
IRELAND
Lismore
IONA I.
SCOTLAND
Bannockburn
R. Clyde
Lindisfarne
WALES
ENGLAND
Oxford
Windsor
London
Hastings
DENMARK
SWEDEN
NETHERLANDS
Ostend
Oudenarde
Fontenoy
Malplaquet
Landen
Grave
BELGIUM
Namur
Cologne
Rhine R.
GERMANY
SAXONY
POLAND
FRANCONIA
Prague
BAVARIA
Austerlitz
Blenheim
Regensburg
Salzburg
GALICIA
RUSSIA
Riga
LIVONIA
Brest
BRITTANY
NORMANDY
FRANCE
Sedan
St. Cyr
Orsay
Paris
Fontaines
Luxeuil
Sully
BURGUNDY
Citaux
St. Gall Monastery
L. Constance
SWITZERLAND
Chalons
Clairvaux
Angouleme
ALPS
St. Bernard
Magenta
Milan
Turin
Pavia
Cremona
Venice
Bobbio
Genoa
LANGUEDOC
AUSTRIA
Belgrade
BULGARIA
ITALY
Assisi
Rome
Tarentum
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
Almanza
Cadiz
Gibraltar
MAJORCA I.
MINORCA I.
SARDINIA
SICILY
MALTA
ALGERIA
GREECE
A B C D E F G H I J K L
1 2 3 4
50 45 40 35
15 10 0 5 10 15 20 25 30 35
Longitude West 0 Longitude East from Greenwich

chief markets being England and the English colonies in America. After 1663, the English Parliament began to pass a series of acts prohibiting trade relations between Ireland and all external ports, with the exception of a very few cities in England, so that this large trade, which had been the means of subsistence of masses of the people, was deliberately killed. It is easy to conceive the misery which was thus spread, first through the ports which sent forth these articles of trade, and then to all the farms of the land, which sent their produce to the ports.

Poverty results.

230. Destruction of the wool trade. Ireland's best single commodity was wool, the trade in which was wholly in the hands of Protestant colonists. Irish wool was famed all over Europe, finding a large market, and bringing high prices. In the reign of Charles I, Wentworth had done his best to destroy this trade (see section 162), but it had again struggled to life and vigor. Now the English merchants demanded its complete destruction, on the ground that it was ruining the wool trade of England. The result was that, in 1699, the cowardly Irish Parliament obeyed orders from England to put an exorbitant export duty on wool, which was followed by an act prohibiting the export of wool or woollen goods from Ireland to any part of the world, outside a few English ports, where the English merchants could buy them cheap, and sell them dear, as English products. Forty thousand people were thus thrown out of employment. There was nothing for them to do but starve or leave the country. Great numbers of them, especially Presbyterians and Nonconformists, found their way to New England.

Causes misery and emigration.

231. Growth of smuggling. Smuggling was naturally resorted to, as a means of evading the unjust restrictions on trade. All classes were involved in it, and the authorities were powerless to prevent it. The merchants carried their cloth to France, and returned with brandy, wine, silks, and other foreign commodities. These smuggled goods were landed in the sheltered coves and inlets of the southern coast, well out of sight of the customs officials. Many Catholic youths went with the outgoing ships, eager to seek their fortunes as soldiers or citizens in foreign lands.

232. Ruin of the minor trades. Not satisfied with the destruction of the wool trade, the English Parliament also passed laws to restrict the manufacture and sale of such products as beer, malt, gunpowder, hats, sail-cloth, and ironware. Money was debased till there was no longer silver enough in the country to meet the most pressing needs of trade; and workmen were often compelled in consequence to take their wages in the goods which they were manufacturing, and could only sell at a great loss. The scandal of "copper halfpence" we shall have occasion to speak of later on, in connection with Dean Swift. (See section 240.) The poverty and misery caused by the destruction of all these trades brought famine and pestilence in their wake. During the eighteenth century, the peasantry of Ireland, the most wretched in all Europe, were reduced to a state of misery from which they have not fully recovered to-day. The industries were so completely ruined that, in many cases, they could not be revived.

Famine and pestilence.

233. Rent and tithe grievances. Another evil of the times was the treatment the peasantry received at the hands of the "middlemen." These middlemen took tracts of land from the landlords who preferred to remain in Engand, and then sublet them to

"Middlemen."

"Rack-rents."

farmers and small settlers, at very high prices, which were called "rack-rents," meaning rents which rack or torture. Sometimes there were several middlemen, between the landlord and the cultivator, each seeking a profit from the miserable peasant.

Tithes.

Besides this, tithes had to be paid to the Anglican clergy, who collected them rigorously. The richer class often managed to evade them, so that they fell almost wholly on the peasants. The poor man always had a band of robbers around him, ready to snatch even the clothes off his back. Protestants and Catholics suffered equally.

Toward the middle of the century, there was a general movement among the landlords to take up all the land which had formerly been cultivated, and turn it into cattle and sheep pastures, thus driving out the farmers and their families. They also began to inclose for their own private use the large tracts of land which had formerly been common pasture ground. They further exacted excessive rents for waste tracts and bogs, on which the peasants who were too poor to rent fertile lands had taken refuge.

234. Peasant grievances enumerated, 1762. The special misfortunes of the Irish peasant in the middle of the eighteenth century have been graphically enumerated as follows: —

He was rack-rented by the landlord;

He was persecuted by the tithe-farmer;

He was obliged to work on Catholic holidays, or pay a fine of two shillings;

He was forbidden sports on Sunday, on penalty of a shilling fine, or two hours in the stocks;

He was whipped and fined, if found with a switch cut from his own tree;

He was liable to night visitation by the police in search of arms;

Public whippings were always inflicted on market-days, when the victim was tied to a cart-tail, and dragged through the streets, receiving blows of the lash as he went.

235. Secret societies. The peasants began to form secret societies, in hope of righting their wrongs. One of the most widespread, the "Whiteboys," was organized in the south of Ireland, in 1762. It received its name from the fact that the men wore white shirts over their coats, for mutual recognition, when they went out at night, just as did the French secret society called "Camisards." Their raids were most frequent in Waterford, Cork, and Limerick, and were directed against individuals; among their number were men of all churches, as all had grievances in common. They began by pulling down the fences illegally built around commons, from which they got the name of "levellers"; and digging up arable lands which had been forcibly turned into pastures. But they soon began to commit further acts of violence, so that a large force of soldiers was sent out to suppress them.

"Whiteboys."

Similar Protestant societies sprang up in Ulster, notably two, called "Hearts of Oak," from the oak leaves which they wore in their hats, and "Hearts of Steel," to indicate their unbending resolution. These societies began with the resolve to seek general reforms, without resorting to violence or plundering. But in almost every case they contained members of bad character, who indulged in such acts of lawlessness that soldiers were called out to suppress them.

"Hearts of Oak."

SUMMARY

During the years 1691–1782, Ireland suffered under an increasing number of tyrannous laws, which not only absolutely destroyed her religious freedom, but completely ruined her trade and commerce. Although the English Parliament was in the main responsible for this persecution, a great part of the blame may be laid on the Protestant Parliament of Ireland. There were three large instalments of the penal laws: those of 1695–97, those of 1703–04, which included the "Test Act," and those of 1728, when the Catholics were completely disfranchised. In 1698, the wool trade was completely destroyed and all exportation of wool was prohibited. This was followed by the destruction of many minor trades. Middlemen and their "rack-rents" ruined the poor farmer. To oppose this unjust persecution, the peasants formed secret societies, such as the "Whiteboys," but nothing permanent was effected by them, owing to their lack of law and discipline.

CHAPTER XXIV

STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND IRISH PARLIAMENTS

1698–1783

English Sovereigns:

William and Mary, 1688–1702	George II, 1727–1760
Anne, 1702–1714	George III, 1760–1820
George I, 1714–1727	

236. The Irish Parliament in the eighteenth century. In the last chapter we traced the development of the penal laws and trade laws during the eighteenth century. We shall now consider especially the progress of legislative affairs, and the status of the Parliament at Dublin during those same years. It must be borne in mind that with this side of Irish life only the Protestant minority was concerned, the penal laws excluding the Catholics from political activity. It was the Protestant parliamentary party, seeking liberty for Protestants only, which carried on the constitutional struggle against England.

Entirely Protestant.

In the Dublin Parliament, opinion was divided. The majority, known as the Court party, was composed either entirely of Englishmen or of Irishmen who were strongly in sympathy with the English. From the highest government official down to the lowest, all favored an increase of English influence, and were prepared to employ corruption, bribery, unearned pensions, and similar means to secure a sufficient body of

Court party.

faithful followers to carry out the wishes of the English Council. The other parliamentary party, known as the Patriotic party, was composed of the small minority of thoughtful Irish Protestants imbued with a feeling of patriotism, which grew stronger as time went on. They realized the injustices which their country suffered at the hands of England, and especially those which, like the restrictions on trade, particularly affected themselves. They, therefore, had two main objects: first, to remove these restrictions, and, second, to make the Irish Parliament independent of the English, in order that like restrictions might not be imposed in future. This party counted among its members such men as Molyneux and Grattan in parliament, and such champions as Swift and Lucas without. We shall now follow the course of the struggle between these two parties, the Court and the Patriotic party.

Patriotic party.

237. Molyneux' book. As early as 1698, William Molyneux, member of parliament for Dublin University, published a book, "The Case of Ireland's Being Bound by Acts of Parliament in England Stated," in which he strongly condemned commercial injustice and the authority of the English Parliament in Ireland. This book was censured by the English House of Commons, burned by the common hangman, and followed by the most ruinous of all restrictions, that which destroyed the wool trade, as already described. (See section 230.)

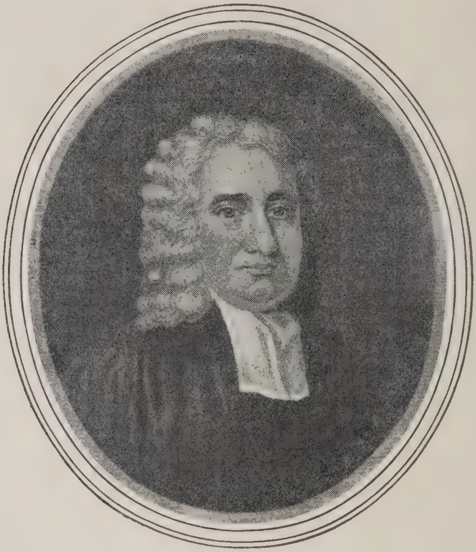
238. The Annesley case. In 1719, a dispute arose over the Annesley estate, which ended disastrously for the Irish Parliament. This notable lawsuit was decided in favor of Annesley by the Dublin Court of Exchequer. His opponent appealed to the Irish House of Lords, which reversed the decision. Annesley now appealed to the English House of Lords, which confirmed the first decision, ordered the estate to be restored to Annesley, and fined the sheriff of Kildare because he had refused to put Annesley in possession of his rights. The sheriff stated his case, in a petition to the Irish House of Lords, which annulled the fine, on the ground that appeal to England was illegal, and even went so far as to arrest the three barons of the Court of Exchequer, who had given judgment in favor of Annesley. In reply, the English parliament passed an Act (known as the Sixth of George I) affirming the right of the English Parliament to pass laws for Ireland, and depriving the Irish House of Lords of the right to hear appeals. Poynings' Law (see section 123) had gone far, but this last Act was final. The legislative independence of the Irish Parliament was gone, and its authority was a mere name.

Complete subjection of Irish Parliament.

239. Jonathan Swift. The party of the Patriots now had at its head Jonathan Swift, the famous writer and Dean of Saint Patrick's in Dublin, who has left us full accounts of the distress of the times in his writings. In one of his essays, published in 1720, he urged the people of Ireland to retaliate on England, with the result that he was accused of trying to bring the Pretender to Ireland to lead a new Jacobite rebellion. He exhorted the Irish to oppose the trade restrictions by refusing to buy furniture and clothes made in England. An attempt was made to arrest and punish him, but it failed.

Leader of the Patriotic party.

240. Wood's halfpence. Swift won his greatest fame, however, by his action in the case of "Wood's halfpence." Copper money was very scarce in Ireland, and there was need for small coin, to the amount of about £15,000. Without consulting the Irish in any way, the king in 1723 granted to the Duchess of Kendal a patent for coining £108,000 in base metal half-pence and farthings. This patent was sold to an English iron-merchant named Wood, who looked forward to making a large profit from the transaction. Swift and others regarded this as an extreme injustice, and the former wrote



JONATHAN SWIFT

very bitterly against it. Frequent appeals were made to the king to revoke the patent, but without success. Finally, Swift won the day by writing and publishing five letters, signed W. B. Drapier, explaining in simple language, which could be understood even by the peasantry, all the harm which would result from such a system. The coins were of such base metal that twenty-four of them did not contain enough copper to make one good penny. These letters increased the

"Drapier Letters."

excitement, which was already great; and a reward of three hundred pounds was offered to any one who betrayed the name of the author. No information, however, was forthcoming, and so great was the popular outcry that the patent was withdrawn. This may be reckoned the first victory for the Patriotic party, and Swift became the popular hero with Protestants and Catholics alike.

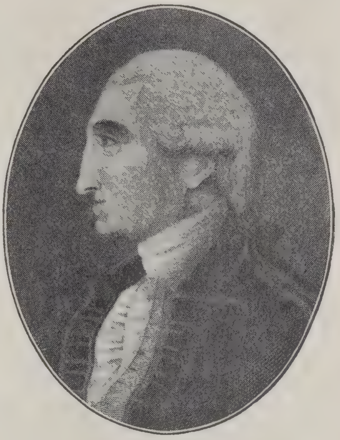
241. Famine and emigration. In 1727, George I was succeeded by his son. Sir Robert Walpole was prime minister in England, while Ireland, from 1724 to 1742 was governed principally under the direction of Boulter, the Anglican archbishop of Dublin, who increased the influence of England by restricting still further the extremely slight influence of Catholics in elections. (See section **224**.) During 1728–29, Ireland suffered from a failure of crops which amounted to a famine, and resulted in a great tide of emigration to America. During the next few years, larger numbers than ever left the country, owing to restrictions of trade and commerce, and the injustice of exorbitant rents. (See section **233**.)

242. Chesterfield's administration. In 1745, the Earl of Chesterfield was appointed lord lieutenant. He was a man of high principle, and he accepted the position only on condition that he should be free from all restraint. He began by endeavoring to remove some of the worst grievances of the Catholics. He enrolled Irish soldiers to fight in the service of England, and encouraged the formation of bodies of volunteers, who were equipped and maintained at their own expense. He refused to buy votes. When he had a surplus, he used it in such useful works as the improvement of Cork harbor, instead of diverting it for personal purposes. But his useful administration was cut short by his recall, and his successors soon undid most of the good he had accomplished.

243. Charles Lucas. Charles Lucas, a druggist, who had come to Dublin from Cork, was a member of the Dublin Common Council. He began a campaign to recover the lost rights of that body, and wrote vigorously on its behalf. He then passed to the lost rights of the Irish Parliament, and at the same time became a parliamentary candidate for the city of Dublin. His writings caused intense popular excitement, but the Irish Parliament, largely in the hands of partisans of England, had no desire to recover its lost rights, and attacked its own defender. Lucas was compelled to leave the country, but returned at a later date, and was elected to parliament, where he continued to uphold the rights of Ireland.

HENRY GRATTAN

244. Formation of the "Catholic Committee." Ever since the treaty of Limerick, 1691, the Catholics had been absolutely passive. Now they began to assert themselves, very timidly at first, under the leadership of Dr. Curry, a Dublin physician and historian of the Irish civil wars, Charles O'Connor, a distinguished antiquarian, and Mr. Wyse of Waterford. These men endeavored to arouse the Catholic aristocracy and clergy, but both classes were too cowed to respond. Success attended their efforts, however, among the business communities of the larger cities, and they ended by forming the "Catholic Committee," in 1757, to take charge of Catholic interests. Meetings of this body were held in Dublin, and it became the nucleus of the movement which later grew to such formidable proportions under Daniel O'Connell.



HENRY FLOOD
From a miniature painting

245. Flood and Grattan. Bribery and corruption steadily increased within the circle of the Dublin government. The practice of illegal pensioning was courageously attacked by the patriot Henry Flood (1732–1791), who was seconded by the young, and later famous, Henry Grattan, one of the most eloquent orators and greatest patriots Ireland has ever known. Grattan was born in Dublin, 1746, entered parliament at the age of twenty-nine, and to the day of his death, in 1820, championed the Irish cause.

246. The Octennial Bill. In England, parliament could only sit for seven years, when a new election must be held. In Ireland, each parliament sat until dissolved by the king, which might be a period of thirty years, as happened during the reign of George II. In this way a party subservient to the English government could be kept in power indefinitely. Several bills to limit the duration of parliament to seven years had been submitted by the Patriots to the English Council with no result. In 1767, chiefly owing to the efforts of Charles Lucas, the Patriots amid great

Limits parliament to eight years.

rejoicing succeeded in getting the Octennial Bill passed, which limited the Irish Parliament to eight years.

247. Townshend and the parliament. The new parliament called in 1767 was as corrupt as the old, and as subservient to the lord lieutenant, Lord Townshend, in all but one particular. It refused to pass bills granting money, unless these bills originated in Ireland. In 1769, such a bill was returned from England, where it had been sent by the Dublin Council, and was rejected by the Irish Parliament. Townshend refrained from active opposition, until he had the usual money supplies voted by the parliament. He then summoned the Irish Commons before the bar of the House of Lords, and read them a lecture as if they had been a class of disobedient schoolboys. He followed this by proroguing parliament for fourteen months. The Commons showed their independence, however, by refusing to enter the reproof of the lord lieutenant on the records of their House, an act which gave new courage and resolution to the Patriotic party.

Dispute over money bills.

Townshend was forced to resign, in 1772, unable to withstand the incessant attacks published against him in Dublin. Although he was one of the most unscrupulous governors Ireland ever had, his administration did more to strengthen the Patriotic party than anything else. It was during his administration that the movement was begun in Ulster, which resulted in the formation of the secret societies "Hearts of Steel" and "Hearts of Oak" (see section 235); and an Act was finally passed by him which allowed a Catholic to obtain a long lease of fifty acres of bog, which must be at least four feet deep and a mile distant from any market town. The tenant was expected to reclaim this bog at his own expense, and, if it was too marshy to build on, he might

Townshend resigns.

also lease half an acre of dry ground for his house. This represents the limit of privilege granted to Catholics at this time.

248. England and her American colonies. But before long, some slight relief was to come from an unexpected quarter. In 1775, war broke out between England and her American colonies, which had an immediate effect on Irish trade. England passed the Embargo Act, which forbade the exportation of salt meat and other provisions from Ireland, in order to prevent supplies from reaching the Americans, and to cheapen food for the English army. This measure deprived Ireland of one of her best markets.

The Embargo Act.

EDMUND BURKE

The Irish Protestants sympathized with the American colonists who were fighting for the very points at issue in Ireland: freedom of trade, and "no taxation without representation." One of the greatest of Irishmen, Edmund Burke, came forward as the champion of the American colonists in the English Parliament. His "Speech on Conciliation with America" is a lasting treasure of the literature of the world. Meanwhile, the tide of fortune went against the English armies in America. Burgoyne surrendered at Saratoga, and France declared for the independence of the United

Edmund Burke.

States. England began to consider the necessity of conciliating Ireland, in order to strengthen herself against America.

249. Slight concession to Catholics. The first concession was made to the Irish Catholics. The penal laws, although they had fallen into comparative disuse, could be, and were revived on occasion. In spite of considerable opposition, Luke Gardiner, afterwards Lord Mountjoy, presented a bill to the Irish Parliament in 1778, which repealed certain sections of the penal laws: namely, those which prohibited the purchase of property by Irish Catholics; which gave the entire estate of an Irish Catholic to his son, if the latter became a Protestant; and which compelled a father to provide for the education of his son who became a Protestant. Catholics were to be allowed to lease land for 999 years, almost equivalent to purchase, and the Test Act was abolished. (See section 224.) The embargo on the export of provisions was also removed.

Some of the penal laws repealed.

Embargo repealed.

250. The Volunteers. George III had withdrawn so many Irish troops to fight for him in America that the island was almost defenceless, and liable to invasion from France or Spain, or at least to serious attack from privateers like Paul Jones, in the service of the United States. Toward the close of 1778, some of the people of Belfast, realizing the situation, began a movement to enroll volunteers. The richer landlords armed and drilled their tenants at their own expense. This example was followed in Down and Antrim, so that by May, 1779, four thousand volunteers came forward to take the place of the departed garrisons. The authorities looked askance at this citizen army which they had had no hand in raising, and regarded

Ireland liable to invasion.

it as a future menace, but they could do nothing to prevent it. Before the end of the year, the Volunteers numbered forty-two thousand, a formidable force under the leadership of such men as James Caulfield, earl of Charlemont, and Fitzgerald, duke of Leinster. Two things should be noticed: first, that the Volunteers were drawn from the class which suffered most under the trade laws, and who, while maintaining their allegiance to England, were Irish Patriots in sympathies; and, secondly, that they included no Catholics at this time, though many joined later.

251. Parliament and the Volunteers. The parliament convened in October, 1779, had to face the Patriotic party supported by this formidable army. The famous Henry Grattan came to the front as leader of this party. As usual, the session of parliament was opened by the reading of the king's speech. Parliament replied in an Address to the king. Grattan made a motion to add to the Address the following words: "We beg leave, however, humbly to represent to your Majesty that it is not by temporary expedients, but by free trade alone, that this nation is to be saved from impending ruin." Flood, Hutchinson, Ponsonby, and Gardiner, all holding government offices, supported him. Dublin was in a state of great excitement, and the Address to the throne, thus amended, was triumphantly carried through streets lined with Volunteers, from the House of Parliament to the Castle, to be signed by the lord lieutenant.

Grattan's amendment.

252. Removal of trade restrictions. The action of the Irish Parliament and the Volunteers caused Lord North, the prime minister of England, to introduce three proposals in the English House of Commons, which provided for the restoration of free trade to Ireland, November, 1779. The first was, to remit the export duty on Irish wool and woollen goods; the second provided for the free export of Irish glassware; the third permitted free trade between Ireland and the British colonies in America, the West Indies, and Africa, subject to certain restrictions to be imposed by the Irish Parliament. These three proposals became law without opposition.

253. Volunteers demand legislative independence. The American war had done much for Ireland, but there was much still to be done. The Patriotic party took a firmer stand, and determined to free their parliament from such laws as Poynings' (see section **123**), and the Sixth of George I. (See section **238**.) On April 19, 1780, Grattan made a famous speech in parliament in which he moved the following resolutions: —

Grattan's resolutions.

That no power on earth, save the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, had the right to make laws for Ireland;

That Great Britain and Ireland are inseparably united under one sovereign.

A very exciting debate followed, but a vote was not then taken, as Grattan did not consider the time favorable.

In return for the removal of trade restrictions, the House of Commons voted supplies for eighteen months longer, allowing increased taxation to be raised in Ireland to the amount of £150,000 a year.

254. The Mutiny Bill. The next dispute arose the same year over the Mutiny Bill, which provided for the support of the army. This Bill was passed by the Irish parliament as a temporary measure, and so sent to England, where the English Parliament changed it to a perpetual provision, and returned it to Ireland. Such an arrangement put a great deal of power in the king's hands, by supplying him with a standing army, and it was hotly opposed by the Irish Patriots. Nevertheless, by a series of renewed bribes, such as peerages, pensions, and promotions, the authorities succeeded in having the bill passed by the Irish Parliament as perpetual. The English failed to see that this only added to the growing discontent and excitement in Ireland, which were increased by the successful revolution in America and the encouragement received from France. The Patriots were strongly in favor of complete legislative independence. The ranks of the Volunteers daily increased, so that they now numbered a hundred thousand. Flood resigned from office to support the cause of the Patriots, and brilliant and influential men, like Hutchinson, Fitzgibbon, Burgh, and Yelverton, led the popular cause. It should be remembered that the Patriotic party expressed entire loyalty to the king. When the news of the defeat of Cornwallis reached Ireland, Yelverton withdrew a motion in favor of legislative independence, in order to make way for a vote of loyalty to the king.

Made perpetual.

255. Volunteer convention at Dungannon. In spite of their growing strength, the ranks of the Patriots were undermined by perpetual bribery and the distribution of titles, which brought their weaker members over to the government side, and

PRESBYTERIAN MEETING-HOUSE AT DUNGANNON
Where the Volunteers met in February, 1782

diminished their numbers in parliament. Grattan determined to take a new step. On February 15, 1782, a convention of two hundred and forty-two delegates from the Ulster Volunteers met at Dungannon, the old home of Hugh O'Neill, to deliberate on political conditions. Grattan, Flood, and Lord Charlemont were in charge of the proceedings. They passed thirteen resolutions, of which the following were the most important: —

Its resolutions.

That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland alone had the right to legislate for the country;

That Poynings' Law was unconstitutional, and should be repealed;

That the ports of Ireland should be opened to all nations not at war with the king;

That the permanent Mutiny Bill was unconstitutional;

That "as men and Irishmen, as Christians and Protestants, we rejoice in the relaxation of the penal laws against our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects; and we conceive the measure to be fraught with the happiest consequences to the union, and prosperity to the inhabitants of Ireland."

The last measure was ardently supported by Grattan and three Protestant clergymen who were delegates to the convention. No Catholic took part in the proceedings.

256. Further repeal of the penal laws. The same day, February 15, Luke Gardiner introduced further measures in parliament for the relief of the Catholics. The laws against buying and selling land were modified. The acts forbidding the celebration of mass, ordering the registration of priests, and regulating the residence of bishops were repealed, and Catholics were permitted to live in the two great Gaelic centres, Limerick and Galway. Catholic schoolmasters could teach, and Catholics could be guardians of children. They were no longer presumed to be guilty of all robberies commited in the country. The ridiculous and unjust law providing that no Catholic might own a horse worth more than five pounds was also repealed.

BADGE OF THE DOWN VOLUNTEERS

257. The Act of Repeal, May 27, 1782. At the next meeting of parliament, in April, 1782, Grattan moved and carried his amendment, which comprised the Dungannon resolutions, except the last referring to Catholics. He was extremely ill at the time, and so weak that he could hardly speak, yet his oration on this occasion won just fame. In May, the English Parliament passed the Act of Repeal, which meant independence for the Irish Parliament. Poynings' Law was repealed (see section **123**) and also the Sixth of George I. (See section **238.**) The right of the Irish House of Lords to hear appeals was restored. The joy created by this news in Dublin was indescribable. The Irish Parliament showed its gratitude by voting twenty thousand men and £100,000 to the English navy. It was admitted that the repeal was a personal triumph for Grattan. He was voted a grant of £100,000, only half of which he finally consented to accept.

Irish Parliament wins independence.

258. The Act of Renunciation. On January 22, in the following year, 1783, the Act of Renunciation was passed, which may be regarded as the charter of Irish legislative independence. By it England formally gave up the right to make laws for Ireland, which was to be henceforth subject in everything only to the king and the Irish Parliament.

Thus the parliamentary struggle which lasted from 1698 to 1783 ended in favor of Ireland, and decided that the Union from the speech from the throne. When a division was taken, the votes numbered 106 for the government and 111 for the Irish constitution. The Speaker, John Foster, was carried home in triumph, and Dublin was illuminated by the enthusiastic people. But Sir John Parnell, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Fitzgerald, the Prime Sergeant, who had opposed the Union, were summarily dismissed from office.

Union measure lost.

281. More bribery. On January 31, 1799, Pitt brought forward the scheme of Union in the English House of Commons. In his speech he strove to prove that the settlement of 1782 (see section 257), when the Act of Repeal gave Ireland an independent parliament, was not final. Richard Brinsley Sheridan, the dramatist, and Foster, the Speaker of the Irish House, vehemently opposed him.

Pitt and Sheridan.

Both parties now did their utmost to gain adherents for the struggle in the next Irish session. The government employed every possible means to corrupt the representatives of the people, trying in all ways to bring round the most formidable leaders of the opposition, and spending freely the sum of £1,260,000, placed at its disposal, for purposes of bribery and corruption. The lord lieutenant made tours through different parts of the country to obtain declarations in favor of the Union. Eighty-four boroughs were bought outright. To secure a majority in the Irish House of Lords, twenty-eight new peers were created, and thirty-two received higher titles.

282. Attitude of the Catholics. The position of the Catholics during the struggle was well defined. The great majority of them opposed the Union altogether. There was, however, a small Catholic party which favored the English connection, but they had no influence. The Catholics had nothing to gain from union with England, whose sovereign was opposed to them, and whose parliament excluded them. In Ireland, on the contrary, they had received the franchise, and the Irish Parliament had removed a good many of their burdens. In the beginning, Cornwallis had counted on Catholic support, but as early as 1798 he was forced to change his opinion, as is shown by the following quotation from his letter to Major-General Ross: "The opposition to the Union increases daily, in and about Dublin, and I am afraid, from conversations which I have held with persons much connected with them, that I was too sanguine when I hoped for the good inclinations of the Catholics. Their disposition is so completely alienated from the British government that I believe they would be tempted to join with their bitterest enemies, the Protestants of Ireland, if they thought that measure would lead to a total separation of the two countries." This hostile attitude of the Catholics was confirmed at a great meeting held January 14, 1800, at which a new leader made his first speech. Daniel O'Connell said: "If emancipation be offered for our consent to the measure of Union — even if emancipation after the Union were a gain — we would reject it with prompt indignation." He went so far as to add that he would prefer a renewal of the penal laws, and "would rather confide in the justice of my brethren the Protestants of Ireland, who have already liberated me, than lay my country at the feet of foreigners."

Hostile to Union.

283. Daniel O'Connell. Daniel O'Connell was a young patriot, who now began to come into prominence and popularity, and prepared to continue the work Grattan had begun. He was born in 1775, at Carhan, near meetings, appointed committees, and chose delegates to represent them in a great convention to be held in Dublin on November 10, 1783. Meanwhile, in parliament, the two great leaders, Grattan and Flood, were in disagreement over a measure to reduce expenses. Grattan advocated reducing the expenses of the government, while Flood thought that economy should be secured by reducing the army. The dispute was so bitter that it destroyed the friendship between them, thus greatly weakening the cause of the Patriots.

Grattan and Flood quarrel.

261. The convention, November 10, 1783. A hundred and sixty delegates of the Irish Volunteers met in the Rotunda at Dublin, on November 10, with the Earl of Charlemont, who commanded the whole of the Volunteer force, in the chair. Resolutions were passed, which provided that the franchise should remain practically unchanged in the counties, but that the right to vote should be extended in the boroughs. Flood presented a bill embodying this proposal to the parliament, which met on November 28. After a hot debate the bill was rejected, and with it ended, for the time, the efforts of the Patriotic party to accomplish parliamentary reforms.

Reform bill defeated.

262. Result to the Volunteers. A death-blow was dealt to the Volunteer movement as a whole by this rejection, and the convention broke up, without any date being fixed for the next meeting. The numbers of the Volunteers continued to increase, but they became more revolutionary in spirit, and broke away from the restraining influence of men like Lord Charlemont, Curran, and Wolf Tone, who condemned their tendency to form secret clubs, which soon became secret revolutionary societies. The Volunteers

Revolutionary societies.

now began to enroll Catholics as well as Protestants, which frightened the government, and caused an increase in the numbers of the militia. The people grew resentful and violent, and mob outbreaks were frequent, especially in Dublin.

263. Trade congress called. The second question at issue met with a similar check. There was still a high duty on Irish exports to England, while English goods entered Ireland practically duty free. During 1784 and 1785 this question was uppermost in all minds, and, in order to solve it, a public meeting was called in Dublin, which arranged for the election of delegates to meet in a congress on October 25, 1785. This congress passed a series of resolutions in favor of free election and the extension of the franchise to Catholics. An address to the people was prepared, and a petition was sent to the king. The question of votes for Catholics proved such a stumbling-block that little was accomplished by the congress, which dissolved after several futile meetings.

264. Orde's Bill, 1785. In England, Pitt made an attempt to have a bill passed to remedy the trade evils, but the English manufacturers and merchants raised such an outcry at the idea of granting the Irish free ports that Pitt abandoned his plan. This bill, which would have placed England and Ireland on an equal footing in commerce, was known as Orde's Bill, as it was prepared by Orde, the Chief Secretary. Pitt then introduced a bill of his own, containing twenty propositions much less favorable to Ireland, and including several severe restrictions. These propositions offered little more to Ireland than equality of taxes. The measure passed the English Parliament, but aroused much indignation in Ireland, where it was

Motion for free trade lost.

opposed by Grattan and Flood, and practically defeated in the Irish Parliament, August, 1785.

265. Other abuses. Besides parliamentary and trade reform, the country needed general reform. Terrible discontent and unrest were prevalent, especially among the peasantry, due chiefly to the extortion of the tithe-collectors, or "tithe-proctors." Every man who tilled land was obliged to pay tithes to the Anglican church established in Ireland. The tithes were collected by men called proctors, whose methods were like those of the middlemen. (See section 233.) They received a percentage on collections, so that it was to their interest to make the tithes as large as possible. Besides, there was a tax for repairs to churches. Grazing lands were not subject to tithes, so that instead of falling on the rich cattlemen, they weighed most heavily on the poorest peasants.

Tithe-proctors.

266. Menacing signs of revolution. The peasants, driven to desperation by this state of affairs, began to form new secret societies. The Whiteboys were revived under the name of "Right Boys," whose purpose was to harass the clergy of the established church. In the north, the "Peep-o'-day Boys" and "Wreckers" rose from the poorest class of the Protestants, and committed acts of violence on Catholics. The government was alarmed, and enrolled a number of constables to guard the city of Dublin. These were later incorporated as the Dublin police. A stringent Crimes Act was passed to counteract the secret societies, but without avail. Outrages increased continually.

Secret societies.

Crimes Act passed.

The people began to realize that no help could be expected from parliament. Under the contagious influence of the French Revolution the anniversary of the fall of the Bastile was celebrated with great enthusiasm in Belfast in 1791, and there was a general outcry for the "rights of man," parliamentary representation, and Catholic emancipation. The old Volunteer leaders, including Charlemont, Curran, the Duke of Leinster, and Wolfe Tone, formed themselves into the "Whig Club" in Dublin, and the "Northern Whig Club" in Belfast. There was nothing illegal in their action, but their tendency was distinctly revolutionary.

The Whig Clubs.

267. The "United Irishmen." Theobald Wolfe Tone now becomes prominent, as the leader of a remarkable movement. Inspired by the highest ideals of national unity, toleration, and freedom, he was a wonderful organizer and a born leader. Already known through the Volunteer movement, he had great influence, and, though a Protestant, was appointed secretary to the Catholic Committee in Dublin, thus bringing the two parties together in his person. In October, 1791, he founded a new and more radical party in Belfast, called the "United Irishmen." Its first members were Presbyterians, and its objects were "a union of Irishmen of every religious persuasion, in order to obtain a complete reform of the legislature, founded on principles of civil, political, and

Wolfe Tone.

THEOBALD WOLFE TONE
1763–1798

religious liberty." Furthermore, he aimed at the repeal of all remaining penal laws against the Catholics, in order that there might be absolute unity, as suggested by the name of his society. There was a branch of the United Irishmen in Dublin.

268. "Back Lane Parliament," December 2, 1792. The Catholic Committee formed thirty years before (see section 244) had been steadily working to redress the Catholics' wrongs. There were two parties in the committee: the aristocratic, comprising the clergy and nobility, who were non-revolutionary and moderate; and the democratic, which included the business men, led by John Keogh, who advocated bold and determined action. This latter party had the sympathy of the Catholic masses, and through its influence a meeting was held in December, 1792, in the Tailors' Hall in Back Lane, Dublin, whence it received the name of "Back Lane Parliament." Here a petition was drawn up, to be sent to the king without passing through the hands of the hostile Irish Parliament. This petition asked that constitutional rights be extended to Catholics.

Catholic petition sent to the king.

269. Catholic franchise restored, 1793. The king received the petition graciously, and in April, 1793, owing to the influence of the English ministers and Grattan's party, a bill was passed through the Irish Parliament granting the franchise to all Catholics who held a lease of land for life. Catholics were permitted to serve on juries, hold the office of justice of the peace, and send their sons to Trinity College, Dublin, which had hitherto been exclusively Protestant; they might also open colleges in connection with Trinity College, provided that Protestants should not be excluded from these colleges. The oath of allegiance was enforced, but no other, and the higher classes were

Other privileges.

permitted to carry arms. These relief measures were really a great gain, but were to some extent counterbalanced by two acts passed at the same time, the Convention Act, directed against unlawful assemblies like the Back Lane Parliament, and the Gunpowder Act, forbidding the importation of powder and arms, and giving magistrates the power to search for them at will. Further, England feared revolutionary tendencies, and by means of spies kept strict watch over every act of the Catholic Committee and the United Irishmen alike. Arrests were made on slight pretexts, and heavy fines were imposed.

Convention Act.

Gunpowder Act.

270. Attempt at Catholic emancipation. In January, 1795, Earl Fitzwilliam, a very honest and liberal-minded statesman, came over as lord lieutenant, with plans inspired by Pitt for the complete emancipation of the Catholics. He was enthusiastically received, and immediately set to work to remove from office all who did not share his views. In acknowledgment, the Patriots, on the motion of Grattan, voted large sums of money and supplies to be used in the war with France. The whole country was full of excitement, and people of every denomination sent in petitions in favor of the oppressed Catholics. On the 12th of February, Grattan presented a bill for the admission of Catholics to parliament, and all seemed to be going well, when a storm-cloud appeared on the horizon. Fitzgibbon and a small opposition party took determined measures to defeat the bill. They aroused the king's fears by suggesting that Protestantism was in danger, and declared that the proposals of Fitzwilliam, in the king's name, were a violation of the coronation oath. The bill was opposed by the king, and the cause of the Catholics was temporarily lost. Nevertheless they gained one point during that year. Their priests could at last prepare for their high calling without going abroad, for the English government feared the continental influence which they brought back with them, especially from France, and founded the Catholic training college of Maynooth, endowed with eight thousand pounds a year.

Founding of Maynooth.

271. Discontent leads to insurrection. Amid general regret, Fitzwilliam resigned his place to a new lord lieutenant, who arrived in March, 1795, to find disturbances already breaking out. The mob raged in the streets of Dublin, and marauding bands swarmed over the country. The leaders had determined on a revolution, and foreign aid was expected. The United Irishmen, whose ranks were daily increased by numbers of Catholics, bound themselves by a secret oath, but the government was all the time made aware of their plans through spies. Among the peasantry Catholics and Protestants were bitterly opposed to each other, and such societies as the "Wreckers" (Protestant) and the "Defenders" (Catholic) fought very fiercely. The Protestants formed a new society called "Orangemen," after William of Orange, which, like all the secret societies of the time, committed serious outrages, driving many Catholic peasants from Ulster. This underground warfare, carried on between the lower classes of the opposed churches, was severely censured by the better elements of both, and troops were sent out to arrest the raiders, and put a stop to the disorders. But their proceedings were often as lawless as those of the marauders themselves, and little good came of this intended remedy.

The "Orangemen."

272. Insurrection Act passed. In December, 1796, France sent a fleet of forty-three ships which was wrecked before it reached Ireland. In addition to this disappointment, at the next session of parliament, in January, 1797, a severe Insurrection Act was passed, which was followed by the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, so that magistrates were free to arrest all persons whom they thought dangerous. Two committees of United Irishmen were arrested in Belfast, with whom important papers were found. Arms were sought everywhere, and the prisons were filled with men unjustly arrested, but no conflicts which could be called battles were fought in 1797, although many parts of the country were in rebellion. The leaders on both sides denounced the atrocities committed by the lawless soldiers, and repeated assurances were given by trustworthy people that parliamentary reform, Catholic emancipation, and a just regulation of tithes would restore peace and order. The best of the United Irishmen, as well as Grattan and others, were working to this end, but they were outnumbered by extremists at every turn. Thoroughly disheartened, Grattan and the leading members of his party resigned from parliament. The defeat of a Dutch fleet sent to invade Ireland added further discouragement.

Beginnings of the Rebellion.

Grattan resigns from parliament.

273. Leaders of the Rebellion betrayed. The society of United Irishmen by this time covered the whole country, and had half a million members, a considerable proportion of whom were Catholics. The leaders believed that the only course left for them was open rebellion. They were far from realizing that they were constantly watched by government spies, who reported all their decisions to the Dublin authorities. These spies knew that the uprising had been fixed for May 23, 1798. They now discovered that the Leinster delegates would hold a meeting on March 12, at the house of Oliver Bond, in Bridge Street, Dublin. Here they broke in upon the delegates in the act of planning measures of rebellion, arrested them, seized their papers, and offered a reward of a thousand pounds for the capture of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, the prime mover in the insurrection. Information was received that he was concealed in Dublin, at the house of a feather-merchant, and here he was surprised and captured, after a fierce struggle. He died of his wounds before the day fixed for his execution.

274. Beginning of the Rebellion. The plan that the insurrection should break out in several places at once failed, owing to mismanagement, and to the work of the spies. On May 24, and the following days, Kildare, Wicklow, Wexford, Carlow, Queen's County, Meath, and Dublin set the example, but the city of Dublin, being under martial law and full of soldiers, did not take part in the outbreak.

275. The Rebellion in Wexford. On May 26, an army of four thousand insurgents was completely defeated on Tara Hill. The three principal rebel encampments were on Vinegar Hill, near Enniscorthy; on Carrickbyrne Hill, between New Ross and the town of Wexford; and on Carrigroe Hill, near Ferns. Most of the fighting was desultory, and accompanied by a great deal of burning and pillaging. The conspicuous bravery and determination displayed by the rebels were usually more than counterbalanced by their lack of discipline and order. First one side was victorious, then the other, in a series of small encounters. The acts of cruelty which were committed on both sides were the work of their worst members, trained by a generation of secret societies and outrages.

Lack of discipline among the insurgents.

Wexford, which was the scene of a very bitter sectarian struggle, had risen independently of the United

Irishmen. Under the leadership of several priests, the Catholic masses, driven to desperation by the atrocities of the militia, retaliated in a horrible manner on the Protestant population. Father John Murphy, a Catholic curate, was the principal leader in the fighting, but sternly discountenanced all outrages. He overcame the small force of cavalry sent against him, and some of his men set fire to the town of Wexford and murdered two clergymen. All the available militia were called out, and severe fighting followed at Oulart, on May 27, where Murphy and his men were victorious. The rebels then took Enniscorthy, whose garrison was forced to retreat to Wexford.

Father John Murphy.

On May 30, a body of insurgents sent out from Vinegar Hill routed a small force of government troops at a place called Three Rocks, four miles from Wexford, and then proceeded against Wexford itself, which was garrisoned by the North Cork militia. This garrison, in a panic, deserted the town without resistance. They then traversed the surrounding country, burning and killing as they went, while the insurgents entered the town, and indulged in all the excesses of mediæval pillage.

Desertion of Wexford.

On June 1, a large detachment from the Carrigroe encampment attacked the town of Gorey and was severely defeated. But the insurgents avenged this defeat three days later, in a fight not far from Gorey, which left the town in their hands. From Vinegar Hill, on June 2, an attack was made on Newtownbarry, but the insurgents were repulsed. On June 5, three days later, they met with similar misfortune at New Ross. So fierce was their first attack, that the militia, under Lord Mountjoy, formerly Luke Gardiner, was driven out of the town, but returned to win a decisive victory a few

Battle of New Ross.

hours later when the insurgents were dispersed through the streets, indulging in riotous drinking after their success. Between two and three thousand of the rebels were killed.

276. Attack on Arklow. The insurgents now prepared to march on Dublin, but, in order to do this, were forced to pass through the lines of sixteen hundred government troops at Arklow, on the Wicklow coast. On June 9, they made a fierce attack on Arklow, which would have turned out badly for the soldiers, had not the insurgent leader, Father Michael Murphy, been killed in the fight. This event so discouraged his followers that they gave up the idea of proceeding to Dublin.

277. Battle of Vinegar Hill. General Lake, the government commander, now organized an attack for June 21, on Vinegar Hill, the chief rebel encampment. Twenty thousand men were to approach in several divisions, from different directions. As luck would have it, one of the divisions failed to arrive until the fighting was over. The insurgents were thus able to break through the uncompleted circle of their assailants, and retreat southward to Wexford, when the combined attack grew too strong to be resisted.

Insurgents defeated.

This was the last stand of importance in the Wexford rebellion, for the insurgents were now forced to admit their inability to meet the trained troops of the government. They left Wexford, which was immediately occupied by General Lake, who court-martialed and hanged every leader he could capture. Mathew Keogh and Father John Murphy were executed with the rest, though, like many other leaders, they had been active in preventing outrages. Acts of great cruelty were now committed by both sides. The soldiers made no distinction between guilty and inno-

Rebel leaders executed.

cent, but slew all alike, while bands of insurgents, roaming through the country, viciously retaliated. Within the short space of two years sixty-five Catholic chapels and one Protestant church were destroyed in Leinster alone, and countless dwellings met with a like fate.

278. End of the Rebellion. The fact that the uprising did not occur simultaneously in different parts of the country gave the government a decided advantage, and, in the north, the rebels were easily suppressed. General Lake was superseded by Lord Cornwallis, who did his best to stop the outrages daily committed by the soldiers, and it is probable that, had he been in command from the outset, there would have been less bloodshed.

Help from France arrives too late.

On August 22, after the rebellion was ended, help was sent from France. General Humbert and a thousand men landed at Killala, in Mayo, but they soon surrendered to Cornwallis, and were sent back to France. Two Irish leaders were taken at the same time and hanged. These were Matthew Tone, brother of Wolfe Tone, and Bartholomew Teeling. A second expedition, in which Theobald Wolfe Tone took part, arrived in September, and was defeated at sea. Wolfe Tone was taken prisoner and sentenced to be hanged. He begged for a more honorable death, and committed suicide when this was refused.

SUMMARY

Although Ireland had gained legislative independence, its parliament was so corrupt that little benefit resulted. A convention met in November, 1783, and drew up a bill of reform, which was defeated in parliament. This defeat demoralized the Volunteer movement, which now became revolutionary in spirit and was deserted by its more moderate members. An attempt to remedy trade conditions was embodied in Orde's

Bill, 1785, and likewise defeated. The abuses of the tithe-proctors increased, as did the number of lawless secret societies among the peasants. In 1791, Wolfe Tone founded the society of "United Irishmen," whose members were men of all denominations. At the "Back Lane Parliament," in 1792, a petition was drawn up praying for the removal of a number of penal laws against the Catholics, but in 1795 a bill for Catholic emancipation was defeated.

Discontent grew, the country was full of paid spies, sectarian riots were frequent, and finally a rebellion was planned. On March 12, 1798, the leaders of this movement were defeated and captured. The main action of the rebellion took place in Wexford, where the insurgents were led by John Murphy, a priest. Help from France arrived too late, and the rebellion was presently put down, with great cruelty and bloodshed.

CHAPTER XXVI

LEGISLATIVE UNION WITH ENGLAND

1800–1801

ENGLISH SOVEREIGN: George III, 1760–1820

279. William Pitt's scheme. In the summer of 1798, the English Cabinet, of which William Pitt and the Duke of Portland were the most influential members, conceived a plan for abolishing the Irish Parliament and uniting the legislative bodies of the two countries. This had long been a favorite scheme of Pitt, and events in Ireland during the past few years convinced him that the time was favorable for carrying it out. This statesman is justly credited by historians with having had very benevolent intentions toward Ireland, including a plan to emancipate the Catholics and

To abolish the Irish Parliament.

WILLIAM PITT, THE YOUNGER
1759–1806

establish a uniform system of laws over the whole of Great Britain and Ireland. His methods, however, were more than questionable.

Cornwallis's system of bribery.

Every one in England admitted that the Irish Parliament could not be abolished without its own consent. It was also admitted that this body, corrupt though it was, was not corrupt enough readily to accept Pitt's plans for its extinction. In 1798, the Marquis of Cornwallis was lord lieutenant, and Lord Castlereagh was Chief Secretary for Ireland, and to these two men Pitt intrusted the execution of his scheme. Though hating the part he was forced to play, Cornwallis lost no time. He sounded the Irish Cabinet and the Dublin barristers on the subject of Union, and dismissed those officials who opposed the idea. A grand system of corruption was organized, in order to insure a parliamentary majority, when the matter came before the House. Bribes, pensions, and titles were openly given to those who promised to vote for the government's scheme. Cornwallis asked for and received from England thousands of pounds of ready money, which sums were later added to the national debt of Ireland, so that the larger country did not suffer. These determined measures caused great alarm, for it was realized that if the Union became a fact, the three hundred members of parliament would be reduced to one third, and members were afraid of losing their seats and the opportunities of profit which these seats gave them. An outline of the scheme of Union was circulated among the people throughout the whole country, and the rebellion was allowed to smoulder on, in order to promote local and class differences, and thus to weaken possible opposition.

The country was now thoroughly aroused, and riots broke out in several places. The people looked on the proposed loss of their parliament as an indignity to the nation, and numerous petitions poured in daily to parliament, condemning the contemplated Union in the strongest terms. It was feared by the authorities that the riots might once more extend, and become a rebellion, and English troops were landed to inspire fear. The men at the head of the Union movement were determined to carry their measure at all costs.

Attitude of the people.

280. Union scheme presented to the Irish Parliament. The eventful day, January 22, 1799, arrived, and Lord Cornwallis delivered the speech from the throne in the Irish House of Lords. He announced his hopes that both parliaments would unite, and consolidate as far as possible the resources of the realm. Excitement ran high, and Cornwallis was immediately answered by patriotic Irishmen, who condemned any such scheme in the strongest terms. During the debate in the House of Commons, which lasted all night long, Ponsonby delivered an address in which he appealed for support to national pride and independence. He closed with the words, "maintaining, however, the undoubted birthright of the people of Ireland to have a resident and independent legislature, such as it was recognized by the British legislature in 1782, and was finally settled at the adjustment of all differences between the two countries." (See section **257**.) Plunket, with eloquence almost equal to that of Grattan, denounced the "system of black corruption" carried on to undermine the constitution and influence votes. The country gentlemen spoke warmly against the measure, and the result was that, on the evening of January 24, a motion was made to strike out the clause concerning

Excited debate.

the Union from the speech from the throne. When a division was taken, the votes numbered 106 for the government and 111 for the Irish constitution. The Speaker, John Foster, was carried home in triumph, and Dublin was illuminated by the enthusiastic people. But Sir John Parnell, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Fitzgerald, the Prime Sergeant, who had opposed the Union, were summarily dismissed from office.

Union measure lost.

281. More bribery. On January 31, 1799, Pitt brought forward the scheme of Union in the English House of Commons. In his speech he strove to prove that the settlement of 1782 (see section 257), when the Act of Repeal gave Ireland an independent parliament, was not final. Richard Brinsley Sheridan, the dramatist, and Foster, the Speaker of the Irish House, vehemently opposed him.

Pitt and Sheridan.

Both parties now did their utmost to gain adherents for the struggle in the next Irish session. The government employed every possible means to corrupt the representatives of the people, trying in all ways to bring round the most formidable leaders of the opposition, and spending freely the sum of £1,260,000, placed at its disposal, for purposes of bribery and corruption. The lord lieutenant made tours through different parts of the country to obtain declarations in favor of the Union. Eighty-four boroughs were bought outright. To secure a majority in the Irish House of Lords, twenty-eight new peers were created, and thirty-two received higher titles.

282. Attitude of the Catholics. The position of the Catholics during the struggle was well defined. The great majority of them opposed the Union altogether. There was, however, a small Catholic party which favored the English connection, but they had no influence. The Catholics had nothing to gain from union with England, whose sovereign was opposed to them, and whose parliament excluded them. In Ireland, on the contrary, they had received the franchise, and the Irish Parliament had removed a good many of their burdens. In the beginning, Cornwallis had counted on Catholic support, but as early as 1798 he was forced to change his opinion, as is shown by the following quotation from his letter to Major-General Ross: "The opposition to the Union increases daily, in and about Dublin, and I am afraid, from conversations which I have held with persons much connected with them, that I was too sanguine when I hoped for the good inclinations of the Catholics. Their disposition is so completely alienated from the British government that I believe they would be tempted to join with their bitterest enemies, the Protestants of Ireland, if they thought that measure would lead to a total separation of the two countries." This hostile attitude of the Catholics was confirmed at a great meeting held January 14, 1800, at which a new leader made his first speech. Daniel O'Connell said: "If emancipation be offered for our consent to the measure of Union — even if emancipation after the Union were a gain — we would reject it with prompt indignation." He went so far as to add that he would prefer a renewal of the penal laws, and "would rather confide in the justice of my brethren the Protestants of Ireland, who have already liberated me, than lay my country at the feet of foreigners."

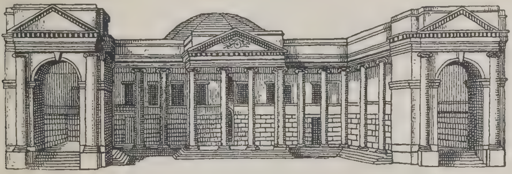
Hostile to Union.

283. Daniel O'Connell. Daniel O'Connell was a young patriot, who now began to come into prominence and popularity, and prepared to continue the work Grattan had begun. He was born in 1775, at Carhan, near

DANIEL O'CONNELL
1775–1847
From the portrait painted for the former Catholic Association of Ireland

Cahersiveen, on one of the Kerry promontories that stretch far into the Atlantic. O'Connell came of one of the oldest Gaelic families, and represented the pure native stock. He had been educated partly in Ireland, partly in France, whither so many Irish Catholics went to seek opportunities of learning which they were denied in Ireland. He was called to the bar in the year of the Rebellion, and at once began to make a reputation as a brilliant lawyer, and an eloquent advocate, and later as spokesman of the Catholic party. A devout Catholic himself, and thoroughly Irish in every instinct and feeling, he was determined that the ancient church of his nation should no longer lie under the ban of the law. In his personal dealings he had gained a reputation for entire uprightness, and his fine legal training gave him an additional advantage. During the whole of the agitation which he led, he not only shunned all excesses, but even avoided the smallest irregularity, and thus gave his English opponents no opportunity to thwart his work by prosecution. His incessant watchfulness and legal keenness were wonderful.

284. Act of Union passed, August 1, 1800. Meanwhile, the government, ignoring every protest, was landing thousands of English soldiers, and increasing the practice of wholesale bribery and unfair dismissal from office. There was a call for more secret service money from England, early in 1800, and Cornwallis did not hesitate to tempt even the stanchest patriots.



IRISH PARLIAMENT HOUSE, DUBLIN, 1800

The Irish Parliament met for the last time on January 15, 1800, with the newly purchased members in their seats. The viceroy avoided mentioning the Union in the speech from the throne, but Parsons, Plunket, Ponsonby, Moore, and Bushe stated and upheld the case against the Union in succession. In the midst of the discussion, Grattan entered. He had risen from a bed of sickness to appear once more on behalf of his country, and, clad in the uniform of the Volunteers, he addressed the House. With a return to his old eloquence and fire, he exhorted parliament to uphold the constitution, so that, when the vote was taken, the government had a majority of only thirty-eight. In spite of all the efforts of the Patriotic party, the bill was finally passed, first through the Commons, and then through the Lords, where the government's majority numbered three to one. On August 1, 1800, King George signed the bill, and the Act of Union became law, coming into force on January 1, 1801, the first day of the nineteenth century. Its main provisions were as follows: —

Last session of the Irish Parliament.

1. The two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland to be one, under the title of "the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland."

2. The Irish representation in the united Parliament was to be one hundred members in the House of Commons, and thirty-two in the House of Lords; four of these peers were to be Protestant bishops, while the remaining twenty-eight were to be elected from the whole body of Irish peers.

3. Regulations as to trade and commerce were to be the same for all subjects of the United Kingdom.

4. The Irish Established Church was to be continued forever, and to be united with the Church of England.

5. Ireland was held responsible for two seventeenths of the expenditure of the United Kingdom for twenty years, at the end of which time a new arrangement would be considered. Each country was to retain its own national debt, but all future debts were to be in

common, and to be borne by Great Britain and Ireland, in the ratio of seventeen to two.

285. Results of the Union. So much for the Union, which was now an accomplished fact. Fox, in 1806, characterized it as "atrocious in its principles and abominable in its means." Gladstone, at a later day, condemned it no less violently. "I know," he said, "no blacker or fouler transaction in the history of man than the making of the Union between England and Ireland." Pitt, whatever his real views may have been, declared it in the House of Commons to be a Union "by free consent, and on just and equal terms." The Union was intended by its promoters to remedy three evils: religious divisions, unfair balance of legislative power, and commercial inequalities. For two generations after 1800 the Catholics and Protestants were no closer friends; the national debt of Ireland has risen abnormally, and she is admittedly overtaxed in comparison with England, as she has less than two seventeenths of the population of the United Kingdom and is the poorest section besides. The new arrangement, to be made after twenty years, was never carried out. Free trade is in force, but all Irishmen do not admit its advantage.

But after the Union was a fact, even the stanchest patriots did not advocate its repeal, which would have meant rebellion and chaos. The attitude of these men during the twenty-nine years between the Union and Catholic emancipation, the goal towards which most of them were working, is especially interesting. An echo of the Rebellion of 1798 was heard in Robert Emmet's insurrection in 1803, but this uprising came to nothing, and its leader was hanged.

SUMMARY

William Pitt, the prime minister of England, had long had a plan to abolish the Irish Parliament and unite the two countries under one parliament in England. In 1798, he directed Cornwallis, the lord lieutenant, to carry out this scheme. The entire country was hostile to it, but by means of unlimited bribery, in spite of the strong opposition of Catholics and patriots, a parliament was finally assembled which voted to abolish itself, and the Act of Union was signed by George III on August 1, 1800, and came into force on January 1, 1801.

CHAPTER XXVII

CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION

1801–1829

English Sovereigns:
George III, 1760–1820 George IV, 1820–1830

286. The combined parliament. On January 22, 1801, the new combined parliament met at Westminster, counting among its members one hundred from Ireland, who were too few to form a strong opposition. There had been vague promises about Catholic emancipation after the Union, but England practically ignored Irish interests altogether. Such laws as the Irish Insurrection Act, the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, the Martial Continuation Act, and a series of Coercion Acts, all of an unjustly oppressive nature, were passed, and the misery and desolation of the country increased. England was absorbed in the struggle against Napoleon, and had no time to undertake serious constructive measures in the new territory brought within the jurisdiction of her parliament by the Act of Union. Besides, the real condition of Ireland was unknown, and it was to no one's interest to find out the truth. It was generally granted that the emancipation of the Catholics from the various legal disabilities and penalties under which they had suffered since the days of Henry VIII was expedient, but the English ministry allowed itself to be overruled

More oppressive measures.

by the ignorance, prejudice, and bigotry of George III, who was determined to treat Ireland as he had wished to treat America.

287. New plan for appointment of bishops. Shortly after the Union, a small section of the Catholics, including several of the bishops, decided that, in return for emancipation, it might be well to concede to the English crown the right of veto in the appointment of Catholic bishops; that is, after a bishop had been selected by the ecclesiastical authorities, his name should be submitted to the king, who might refuse to confirm the appointment, when another choice would be made. The majority of the Catholics were unaware of this plan, and would never have consented to it. It was first brought to their notice in 1808, by a petition drawn up by Grattan and others. The greatest indignation was aroused at the thought of buying emancipation by such a surrender of religious principle; for this would have been equivalent to admitting the claim of the sovereign of England to be head of the Church within his dominions, the very question contested since the days of Henry VIII. But the scheme was doomed to failure in any case, for the English government refused to consider the proposal.

Its failure.

288. Evils of the existing land system. Great as was the need for emancipation, it was as nothing compared to the distress and suffering caused by the deplorable social and economic condition of the country. The relations between landlord and tenant were worse than at any past time, and every year brought new and heavier taxes, instead of lessening the burdens which the people already bore. Each man in the long series of middlemen, as well as the tenant and the landlord at the two ends of the series, had to gain a profit from the same acre of land, and no one was willing to spend money on improving the quality of the land. If it be asked why, the answer is simple. The tenant held his land from year to year, at the will of the landlord, and, if he made improvements, and so increased the value of the land, he would be called on to pay a greater rent, or leave his holding. The middlemen would not make improvements, because whoever stood next above them in the scale of extortion would immediately have demanded a greater payment. The landlord made no improvements, because he was accustomed to think of himself as a man with rights and privileges, and never as a man with duties and obligations. The result was, that a piece of land was allowed to go from bad to worse, and was finally rented, for an excessive sum, to a peasant so poor that he could not improve it in any way, and could barely make a starvation wage for himself and his family.

No attempt to improve the land.

In England, the landlord was the agricultural partner of his tenant, investing large sums of money in improvements, such as drains, fences, out-houses, and so forth; so that the value of the land steadily rose. But nothing of the kind existed in Ireland. Frequently whole towns were owned by one man, who thus had it in his power to exact what rents he pleased. At the time of the Union, the population of Ireland amounted to about four and a half millions. It now began to increase rapidly. The landlords permitted, and even encouraged, extreme subdivision of land, so that they might collect rents from as many tenants as possible.

Conditions in England compared.

Subdivision of land.

The peasants came to grow potatoes more and more exclusively, since this was the cheapest crop, and that which most easily sustained life without further outlay.

It is recorded that often during this time the poor peasant would plant his potatoes at the proper season, and then go off to England to work for some English farmer, and so try to make a little money. Meanwhile, his family was left almost penniless, to beg or borrow. He would come back in time to dig his potato crop in the autumn, and in this way he could earn more than by growing corn and a variety of crops. Then we must not forget the innumerable taxes he had to pay, and the repeated injustice he suffered at the hands of the middlemen and tax-gatherers. It was nothing unusual for a peasant to be forced to pay rent twice over, to different middlemen, both claiming the same piece of ground, and to have his cattle sold before his eyes, if he resisted these demands. All this was known to parliament, or at least ought to have been known, since it had all been graphically described by Irish members. But no notice was taken of it.

Potatoes the only food of peasants.

289. Financial condition of the country. Furthermore, all through the period of strife which had just ended, prices had steadily gone up, and, with them, the rent of land had increased. The Act of 1778 (see section **249**), granting to Catholics the right "to take, hold, and dispose of lands in the same manner as Protestants," had greatly stimulated agriculture. With the freedom of the Irish Parliament, commerce and manufactures had begun to thrive. The Rebellion had only slightly checked this growing prosperity, while the Union, on the other hand, dealt a severe blow to Irish industries. A chief cause of this was the removal of the import duties which had protected Irish manufactures. Commissions were appointed to investigate matters and suggest remedies, but they never did anything beyond holding formal and ineffect-

Union destroys industries.

ive meetings. The Poor Laws were not in existence at that time, and those places of refuge for the destitute and starving which are called poor-houses did not then exist.

Great fall of prices.

The battle of Waterloo in June, 1815, put an end to the long war between England and France. Peace was established, and with it came a general fall in the price of food, which meant serious loss to the farmers. The latter had been receiving high prices for their produce, which was bought by the contending governments for the armies in the field. With peace, and the disbanding of armies, the farmers lost their best customers, and had to sell at much lower prices, in order to find a buyer at all. Moreover, the returned soldiers greatly increased the number of applicants for work, and thus lowered the rate of wages which it was possible to obtain. These two causes directly affected Ireland. The farmers were unable to sell their produce for remunerative prices, and were compelled to pay the same rents as before.

290. O'Connell and emancipation. Let us now turn again to the question of emancipation, which was uppermost in every patriot's mind. Daniel O'Connell had been for years working so quietly that his existence was hardly suspected by the opponents of Catholic emancipation in England. His watchwords were "Forward!" and "Together!" and he strove to remove the jealousies between different sections and localities which have always been a cause of weakness to Ireland, and to counteract the hunger for government positions and promotion which demoralized so many weak-kneed patriots. The national life of Ireland was always foremost in his thoughts, and he saw clearly that that life could never find its true development while the Catholics, who formed the great mass of the population, were kept down by legal disabilities, oppressed, and neglected. In this work he was ably seconded by Richard Lalor Sheil, almost as great an orator as himself. Grattan, now a very old man and worn out after his active life, died in London, 1820. In him Ireland lost the greatest and noblest Protestant upholder of Catholic rights.

291. The Catholic Association of Ireland. In 1823, under the leadership of O'Connell, with the help of Sheil and a few others, a meeting was called in an old inn in the main thoroughfare of Dublin, then called Sackville Street, but since named after O'Connell. Here a new society was formed called the "Catholic Association of Ireland," which carried on the work of the old Catholic Committee. (See section **244**.) In order to evade the Convention Act of 1796 (see section **269**), it was decided not to make it a representative body to which delegates were sent, and not to limit its membership to Catholics. The aim of the society was stated to be the adoption "of all such legal and constitutional

RICHARD LALOR SHEIL
1791–1851

measures as may be most useful to obtain Catholic emancipation." Before long the influence of the Catholic Association had spread all over Ireland. O'Connell and Sheil worked indefatigably. Many Protestants, who, like Grattan, favored emancipation, joined the new society, and its membership increased so rapidly that the English government and parliament soon took notice of it, and viewed its activities with suspicion and dislike. An act was passed in 1825 aimed at its destruction, but O'Connell had been so careful to avoid anything that savored of illegality that no pretext was found for instituting prosecutions. Meanwhile, in Waterford and certain other cities, the Association had so far influenced public opinion that Protestants favoring emancipation were elected to the English Parliament. This result was chiefly due to the votes of the class called forty-shilling freeholders, that is, tenants who had a freehold lease for many years, or for life, of a holding worth forty shillings a year above the amount of the rent. These long leases made them independent of the landlords, who would otherwise have threatened them with eviction for voting in favor of a measure so distasteful to the landlord class.

Its influence.

292. Catholics contest elections. At this time it was not illegal to elect Catholics to parliament, but the election was practically null and void, owing to the oath which a member was compelled to take before he could claim his seat in parliament. This oath contained a declaration that the chief doctrines of the Catholic Church were false, and, as no Catholic could conscientiously take the oath, it was as effectual a bar as any statute of penal days. One of the patriots, John Keogh by name, formed a plan for drawing attention to the absurdity of this regulation.

Keogh's plan.

He suggested that a Catholic member should be elected for an Irish constituency, should present himself at the bar of the House and refuse to take the oath. An opportunity occurred in 1828. Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, who represented Clare in parliament, accepted the office of president of the Board of Trade. It is the rule of the English Constitution that when a member of parliament accepts office, he must resign his seat, return to his constituents and seek reëlection, as a sign that they approve his appointment to office. When Fitzgerald came to Clare to seek reëlection, it was decided that Daniel O'Connell himself should oppose him, and as Clare was in his native province and close to his birthplace he had little difficulty in gaining the support of the voters. The landlords strenuously opposed him, but the tenants took his part, and he was elected by an immense majority. His example was followed by prominent Catholics in other parts of the country, who, with the aid of the Catholic Association, prepared to contest a number of elections.

O'Connell elected.

293. Emancipation Act passed March 30, 1829. When it became evident that a number of Irish Catholics would be returned to parliament, the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel, then the dominant figures in English public life, were thoroughly alarmed. Wellington himself saw that the choice lay between emancipation and civil war, and expressed his view with his usual clearness and determination. Sir Robert Peel introduced a bill granting Catholic emancipation, which was carried on March 30, 1829, after a stormy discussion lasting for three days. A fortnight later King George IV affixed his signature to the bill, and the Act of Catholic Emancipation, the first step in the resurrection of Ireland, became law.

294. O'Connell and the parliament. The Emancipation Act made provisions for the admission to the House of Commons of Catholic members elected after April 13, the day on which the bill was signed by the king. O'Connell had been elected some time before this; he was therefore not eligible under the new provision. Nevertheless, he presented himself at the bar of the House, and the oath in its old objectionable form was placed before him. He read it, declared that it contained statements which he knew to be false, and refused to take it. He was compelled in consequence to return to Clare and seek reëlection, in order that he might be returned to parliament after the date of the signing of the act. O'Connell soon returned in triumph to Westminster, took the new oath provided by the Act of 1829, and, though a Catholic, became a lawful member of the English Parliament.

295. Further concessions to Catholics. It was further provided that Catholics should be admitted equally with Protestants to all civil and military offices in the realm, with three exceptions. A Catholic could not be appointed regent, lord lieutenant of Ireland, or lord chancellor. It was provided, of course, by the English Act of Settlement that the sovereign must be a Protestant, and the English coronation oath still contains clauses very objectionable to Catholics.

In order to diminish as far as possible the strength of the Irish Catholics, the English government decided to take away the votes of the forty-shilling freeholders who constituted the main support of the Catholic party. The franchise was therefore raised from forty shillings, or two pounds, to ten pounds in Ireland, though the lower rate was retained in England.

SUMMARY

As soon as England had accomplished the Union and destroyed the power of the Irish Parliament, she passed further oppressive measures. The social and economic conditions of Ireland were as bad as can be imagined, and the greatest suffering fell upon the peasantry on account of the evils of the land system. The Union had destroyed all industries, and now prices fell until the country was bankrupt.

Grattan died in 1820 and was succeeded by Daniel O'Connell, a Catholic, as leader of the Patriotic Party. O'Connell bent all his energies towards securing emancipation, which was the first step toward remedying the evils of the time. He formed the "Catholic Association of Ireland" in 1823, whose influence grew until the English government became thoroughly alarmed. Catholics now took a bold stand and systematically contested elections, with the result that England was forced to grant the Act of Emancipation, March 30, 1829. O'Connell and other Catholics became members of parliament. Catholics were further admitted to all but the highest offices. The franchise was raised from forty shillings to ten pounds.

CHAPTER XXVIII

FROM EMANCIPATION TO THE FAMINE

1829–1847

ENGLISH SOVEREIGNS:
George IV, 1820–1830 William IV, 1830–1837
Victoria, 1837–1901

296. The National School System. As soon as the fight for emancipation was gained, and the Irish Catholics were represented in parliament, the leading men of Ireland turned their attention to securing other much needed reforms, first of which was suitable school training for the masses. For centuries the children of

MAYNOOTH COLLEGE IN 1821

Ireland had been deprived of proper education. It is true that the English government had established elementary schools all over Ireland, but these schools were for Protestants alone, or for such Catholics as were willing to take part in "religious instruction," the purpose of which was to instil enmity against the Catholic Church. At the very close of the eighteenth century, some provision was made for the education of those Catholic youths who were destined for the priesthood, by the establishment of Maynooth College. (See section **270**.) But the vast masses of Catholic children were still utterly neglected.

Two years after emancipation, in 1831, the first step was taken to remedy this, by inaugurating the system of national schools, which is still in force. The two main provisions of this system were, that pupils of all religious denominations who attended the schools were to be taught together in the ordinary school course, and that there was to be no interference with the religious principles of any child, each denomination receiving separate religious instruction from its own pastors. This new system was rapidly extended all over the country.

297. The Whately Commission, 1835. We saw in the last chapter how extreme poverty increased with the growing population of Ireland. To remedy this, a royal commission was appointed in 1835, under the presidency of Archbishop Whately, to investigate the conditions of the poor in Ireland. In his report Archbishop Whately writes: "We cannot estimate the number of persons in Ireland out of work and in distress during thirty weeks of the year at less than 585,000, nor the number of persons depending upon them at less than 1,800,000, making in the whole 2,385,000. A great portion of these are insufficiently provided at any time with commonest necessaries of life. Their habitations are wretched hovels; several of the family sleep together upon straw, or upon the bare sod, sometimes with a blanket, sometimes even without so much to cover them; their food commonly consists of dried potatoes, and with these they are sometimes so scantily supplied as to be obliged to stint themselves to one bare meal in the day. There are even instances of persons being driven by hunger to seek sustenance in wild herbs."

298. The Poor Law Act, 1838. As a result of this report the Poor Law Act was passed in February, 1838. While this law did not go to the root of Irish poverty, nor remove any of its causes, it nevertheless provided, in the poor-houses which were built all over Ireland, a refuge and coarse food for the completely destitute. While the Irish peasantry have always been most unwilling to apply for help to the poor-houses, and have never done so without a feeling of shame, these institutions have none the less been the means of saving hundreds of thousands from absolute starvation.

299. The tithe struggle. The Catholics were still called upon to pay tithes, and the unjust manner in which these were levied, and the exactions of the tithe collectors, had always given rise to great discontent and frequent resistance and riot. The Protestant Episcopal Church was the church of the well-to-do minority, and its ministers and servants were supported very largely from tithes extorted from the already overburdened Catholics. Further, the tithes were collected from the peasants directly, and not from the landlord. In contrast to the Protestants, who had fine churches and well-to-do clergy, the Catholics, who were devoutly religious, were forced to worship in ruined and dilapidated buildings, and their hard-worked priests received a bare subsistence.

Riches of the Established Church.

This state of things caused continual friction. Tithe collectors had to take the money for the Protestant Church at the point of the sword, and soldiers and police were perpetually called upon to aid in collecting the tithes. At Newtownbarry in Wexford, in 1831, thirteen peasants were killed by the yeomanry in a tithe riot, and again in the next year eleven policemen and several peasants were killed in a similar riot.

Riots in Wexford.

While this tithe struggle was going on, Daniel O'Connell and Richard Lalor Sheil made repeated efforts in parliament to have the tithe system abolished entirely, or at least to have the burden of this tax lifted from the shoulders of the poorest peasants. Parliament absolutely refused to take any measures for the relief of this grievance, and met all remonstrance and resistance by coercion acts, the very name of which proclaimed that the foundation of the system they supported was force, not justice. Finally, the uprisings against the tithe system grew so frequent and so fierce that parliament was compelled to act. In 1838, the tithes were transferred from the tenants to the landlords, and were reduced to one fourth, to compensate for the great saving in collecting them in a single sum from one person. The result was, that the amount of the tithes was exacted in increased rent. But much of the irritation and injustice caused by the old method of collection was removed.

Tithes transferred from tenant to landlord.

300. Father Mathew's Crusade. The year 1838 also saw the beginning of the great temperance crusade under Father Mathew, a zealous young Capuchin friar, who had joined a temperance society founded in Cork by some members of the Quaker body. Father Mathew signed the pledge of total abstinence, and then began to preach temperance to others, gathering immense crowds of all denominations, who listened eagerly to his wise words. He won converts everywhere, and thus one of the causes of misery and poverty in Ireland was partially checked. Drunkenness greatly diminished, and for a long time the influence of Father Mathew was wide and deep.

301. Efforts toward repeal of the Act of Union. We now come to the two great events of this period: the agitation for the repeal of the Act of Union, and the famine. Ever since the day when the Act was passed, the desire for its repeal had been growing. Many had dreams of an independent Ireland, while many others confined their wishes to the reëstablishment of a national parliament. During the first twenty-nine years of the nineteenth century, the patriots of Ireland had been too absorbed with the question of Catholic emancipation to give time or thought to the question of repeal. Now, however, O'Connell came forward as the champion of this cause.

The Repeal Association.

The condition of Ireland had grown steadily worse since the Act of Union. In 1840, O'Connell, supported by others, who believed that legislative independence would lessen the distress of Ireland, founded the Repeal Association in Dublin. The movement spread with the greatest rapidity, for it appealed strongly to men of different classes; and before long O'Connell found himself addressing vast gatherings, to which the people flocked to hear his eloquent words. At one of the "monster meetings," as they were called, which was held on the Hill of Tara, it is estimated that quarter of a million people were present, and thirty such meetings were held in 1843. Meanwhile, riots and outbreaks of lawlessness were constantly occurring, so that the government became alarmed.

302. Failure to secure repeal. O'Connell had a sober people to deal with, thanks to the zeal of Father Mathew. He had no desire to lead a revolution. On the contrary, he always opposed all extreme measures. This moderation, which made it so difficult to attack him, increased the government's alarm, and for a time it seemed certain that his agitation would be crowned with success, and that the Union would be dissolved. But the English government at last took action. The advocates of repeal arranged for a great meeting to be held on October 8, at Clontarf, on the seashore north of Dublin. This meeting was prohibited by the government. The government further determined to use force, and brought soldiers to the scene of the meeting, compelling O'Connell to withdraw. He and several of his associates were soon after arrested, tried, and convicted. For three months they were kept in prison, until released by a decision of the House of Lords, which declared that the sentence had been illegal. O'Connell's arrest virtually ended the repeal agitation.

Arrest of O'Connell.

303. The Young Ireland Party. O'Connell had always been leader of the "Old Ireland Party" formed of the Catholic clergy and the great bulk of the people. During his imprisonment, a new party was formed by a number of young men, who, tired of the fruitless efforts for a pacific settlement between Ireland and England, decided to try more radical measures. This new party, called the "Young Ireland Party," largely consisted of highly educated and literary men, both Catholic and Protestant, and one of their aims was to unite the whole of the Irish people in one great organization. They used "The Nation," a newspaper which had been founded in 1842 by two Catholics, Charles Gavan Duffy and John Blake Dillon, and a Protestant, Thomas Davis, as their organ, and their articles often had a revolutionary tendency. Other papers were founded about this time, which represent the beginning of a free press in Ireland. Among the advocates of open rebellion, John Mitchel, an Ulster Unitarian, stood first, advocating total separation from England.

Free press.

O'CONNELL MONUMENT AT GLASNEVIN

The formation of this new party was a great blow to O'Connell, as it was founded on principles which he could not possibly approve. He predicted that this society of rather wild and sanguine young men was certain in the end to bring trouble on its members and on the country. Nevertheless, the "Young Ireland Party" accomplished much lasting benefit. They revived Irish national literature and gave it new life. They also spurred the people on to a study of Irish history, music, and tradition.

Revival of learning.

But they saddened the last days of the great statesman and "Liberator," whose watchwords had always been moderation and legality. Worn out with anxiety and disappointment, full of anguish at the thought of the suffering already threatened by the famine, O'Connell, in obedience to the orders of his

Death of O'Connell.

physician, set out on a journey to Rome to seek renewed health. He died before reaching his destination, however, passing away at Genoa on May 15, 1847. In accordance with his express wish, his heart was taken to Rome, while his body was carried to Ireland, where it was buried in the great cemetery at Glasnevin, his monument being modelled after one of the round towers of Ireland, surmounted by a cross.

304. The Great Famine, 1845–47. O'Connell thus escaped the misery of beholding the awful tragedy through which Ireland was to pass in the next few years. Failures of the potato crop had happened before on several occasions, and, as the masses of the poorest population lived chiefly on potatoes, they experienced periodical suffering. But in 1845 and 1846, the entire crop failed, and the misery of the country was complete. The worst famine and pestilence known to modern European history raged through Ireland during the next few years. One quarter of the population, which was at that time more than eight millions, died of starvation. No western country has ever suffered a calamity equal to that of the "Black Forty-Seven," as the year after the famine was called. England did something to relieve the suffering of the people by sending large sums of money and quantities of food; but these contributions were quite inadequate when divided among the starving millions.

The "Black Forty-Seven."

305. Emigration to America. Before the famine, the population of Ireland was nearly nine millions; to-day, it is less than half that total, having diminished every year in the last half century, something that has happened in no other European country, and probably in no other country in the world. Statistics show that Ireland has the fewest marriages and

Decrease of population.

the smallest families in Europe, a fact accounted for by the widespread misery of its inhabitants.

But the small families alone were not the cause of the startling diminution of population. A more powerful cause lay in another direction. The people of Ireland, after a century and a half of suffering and oppression in their own land, had at last found a way of escape. Tens and hundreds of thousands fled across the ocean to America, where they could hope to escape starvation, find fair opportunities, and receive protection from the laws. The immigration returns of the United States show in a remarkable way the suddenness and extent of this new flood of life from Ireland. In 1824, only seven thousand people of foreign birth entered the United States. The numbers then began to rise steadily, and in ten years reached about 60,000 or 70,000 yearly, a figure which was maintained until about 1844, on the eve of the Irish famine. By 1854, the number of immigrants to the United States had risen to more than 425,000 yearly. Almost all of these came from Ireland. Taking the same question from the other side, we find that in fifty years after the famine 4,000,000 emigrants left Ireland, the vast majority of them for the United States.

Great numbers leave Ireland.

Of this movement, T. W. Russell, M. P., who held office in Lord Salisbury's last ministry, has written: "These exiles became American citizens. They nursed the Fenian rebellion, which threw England into a panic; they financed the Land League, and changed the very basis of that feudal land system which so long cursed the country; they hatched dynamite conspiracies, and paid England back, at least in part, for the sufferings of their fathers and their friends. But they have done far more, — they prevented in the past, and they prevent to-day (1903), any understanding between England and the United States — such an understanding as Mr. Chamberlain thinks would dominate and control the world. Yes, beyond all doubt, England has paid dearly for the luxury of Irish landlordism — for this is what it all means — and she will continue to pay until she rids herself of the incubus."

SUMMARY

The first step in the resurrection of Ireland after many centuries of increasing misery was Catholic emancipation in 1829. The introduction of the National School System followed in 1831. The Whately Commission was appointed to investigate the conditions of extreme poverty caused by the enormous increase of population during the last half century, and by the legal destruction of trade and industry. As a result, the first Poor Law Act was passed in 1838. The same year, a struggle over the injustice of the tithe system brought about a transfer of the tithes from tenant to landlord. The movement for the repeal of the Act of Union, headed by O'Connell, ended in failure, in 1843. The "Young Ireland Party," revolutionary in character, was then formed. O'Connell died during the "Black Forty-Seven," the year of the famine. The famine was followed by a great and steady tide of emigration to America. Between 1850 and 1900, upwards of 4,000,000 emigrants left Ireland, mostly for America.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE FENIANS AND DISESTABLISHMENT

1848–1869

ENGLISH SOVEREIGN: Victoria, 1837–1901

306. Free trade. The lesson taught by the famine made a strong impression on the English government. Sir Robert Peel was at this time prime minister, and he immediately changed England's policy toward Ireland by opening the latter to free trade through the repeal of the Corn Laws, which removed the import duty on wheat. The result was that wheat could be imported into Ireland free of duty from any country on the continent, or from America, thus lowering the price of bread for the poor inhabitants of Ireland. On the other hand, the repeal of the Corn Laws was a blow to the Irish farmer because he had formerly been able to send his wheat and

Corn Laws repealed.

SIR ROBERT PEEL
1788–1850

oats to England free of duty, while all other countries were compelled to pay a heavy import duty on wheat. As Ireland is so largely agricultural, it is probable that the permanent loss more than counterbalanced the temporary gain.

307. Condition of the Irish landlords. The evils of the famine fell very heavily on the landlord class. The farmers whose crops failed, and the laborers who could find no employment, were able to seek new fortunes in America, but no such opportunity was open to the landlords, who were reduced to bankruptcy by the complete inability of their tenants to pay rent for several years in succession. They were unfitted by training and tradition for the hard work of an emigrant's life, which would have meant sickness and misery to their wives and daughters. They were, perhaps, more to be pitied than any other class in Ireland, although the system of things which they represented and supported was the cause of most of the suffering of the people, and of the famine itself.

Reduced to poverty.

308. Encumbered Estates Court Act, 1849. The British government saw that the poverty of the landlords affected the whole country very unfavorably, because, lacking money, they were unable to introduce proper improvements on their estates, to reclaim new land, or to fertilize the old. English statesmen devised a plan which they hoped would introduce capital. This plan was embodied in the Encumbered Estates Court Act, a law passed July 28, 1849, which provided for the establishment of a court empowered to examine the affairs of heavily indebted Irish landlords whose estates were encumbered by mortgages and loans, which consumed all the money that might have gone for improvements. The courts were

Need of capital.

empowered to order the sale of such estates to the value of £20,000,000. It was hoped that the Irish estates thus sold would be bought by wealthy Englishmen, who would introduce into Ireland the scientific farming and systematic improvements practised on English estates, and thus enrich the whole country, but these hopes were not realized. The estates sold under the Encumbered Estates Act were bought by Irishmen who had made money in trade. In general they paid prices too low to cover the debts and mortgages, and considered their new land merely as an investment, trying to extract the greatest possible profit from it. Thus the farmers were really worse off than before.

309. Increase of rents. The new owners gained the idea that rents might profitably be increased, and, in renewing the yearly leases, they in many cases demanded twice or three times as much rent as before. The new landlords further believed themselves entitled to claim the ownership of all improvements previously made by the tenants, and to exact a higher rent on account of these improvements. Tenants who were not willing to pay these exactions were mercilessly turned out of the homes which they themselves had made, to beg or starve.

"Ribbonism."

As in former days, this injustice was met by the formation of secret societies which soon drifted into crime. The new movement was called "Ribbonism," and its adherents were called "Ribbonmen." They held secret meetings, where cases of extreme injustice were discussed, and where summary punishment was decreed against the perpetrators. Landlords and their agents were murdered in solitary places, and a system of organized terrorism was created. The English Parliament, instead of going to the root of the evil, which lay in the unjust land laws and the insecurity of the tenant, merely tried to destroy the symptoms by passing a new Coercion Act, which gave the magistrates special power to act against the secret societies. Parliament, in fact, took the side of the landlords, as was only to be expected when it is remembered that both houses of parliament were largely drawn from the landlord class. The English people as a whole knew nothing about Ireland and her condition, and it was only after their attention had been drawn to Ireland by years of agitation and crime, that they finally awakened to the truth and realized that reparation must be made. The responsibility for the condition of Ireland during most of the nineteenth century rests with the English landlords in parliament, rather than with the English people.

310. The "Tenants' League," 1850. In 1850, a more concerted movement to remedy the evils of the land system began with the formation of the Tenants' League, which spread from north to south and included Catholics and Protestants alike. Its object was to obtain a redress of grievances for the tenants by lawful means. This league drew up a very moderate programme of demands, which included the following points:—

Its demands.

1. A fair valuation of the rent to be paid by the tenant to the landlord.
2. Security from eviction so long as rent was regularly paid.
3. The right of a tenant to sell his interest in the land, representing the value of the improvements he had made, to the highest bidder.
4. An arrangement of the question of arrears of rent.

The Tenants' League, however, was not destined to accomplish the reforms at which it aimed. Dissensions between the followers of different churches was one of the main causes of weakness, and the league presently passed out of existence, leaving nothing tangible behind it. Thirty years more were to elapse before its aims were realized.

311. England's attitude towards Catholicism. It was still the general opinion in England that most of the evils of Ireland could be traced to the Catholic Church, and there was more proselytizing by the various Protestant bodies than at any former time. They declared that Catholicism was only a habit, the result of mental ignorance and indolence, and that Ireland could soon be converted. It is easy to imagine the indignation aroused among sincere Catholics by this attitude, and the general resentment which was felt toward the new converts. The result was that Ireland became more truly and profoundly Catholic than before.

312. Demand for church reform. The question of the disestablishment of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Ireland now began to be agitated. It will be remembered that, owing to the church policy of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Queen Elizabeth, a Protestant Church had been imposed on Ireland as a State Church, with the sovereign of England as its head, and supported by tithes drawn from the whole people, although hardly a fifth of the nation ever belonged to this church. Failure to attend its services was for a long period punished by fines, and membership in it was indispensable to the holding of any state office. At first the popular demand in Ireland was limited to the repeal of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, and the appropriation of the extensive revenues of the State Church in Ireland to useful national purposes. But neither of these demands was obtained until after some years England was thoroughly awakened to a realization of the state of affairs in Ireland by the Fenian Rebellion.

313. The Fenians. The first step toward the formation of the Fenian movement was taken in 1858, when Stephens and O'Mahony, its two principal leaders, began organized agitation among the secret societies of Ireland and America. It is interesting to remember that the name Fenian was adopted from the National Militia, or Fiana Eirean, of the days of Find, son of Cumal, father of Ossin. (See section 38.) The stronghold of the organization was in the United States among the tens of thousands of Irishmen who had keenly felt the injustice suffered by Ireland, and in whose memories the horrors of the "Black Forty-Seven" still loomed large. Then came the Civil War in America, from 1861 to 1865, in which many Irishmen fought, and which strengthened in them the instinct of liberty. The Fenian body soon became formidable. Its treasury contained not less than $400,000.

Societies organized in America.

314. Opposition of the Catholic Church. In Ireland, the Catholic Church, adhering to its traditions of civil order, strongly opposed the Fenian movement, as it had, in times past, opposed so many of the secret societies. In Dr. Cullen, leader of the Catholic party, Stephens met a determined opponent. The Fenian Society was condemned by the Church, and the Sacrament was refused to its members. For a time, what Stephens called "the struggle between Country and Cullenism" was very bitter, and neither side gained the advantage. But in 1861, an event took place which turned the balance of popular feeling in the direction of Fenianism. McManus, one of the leaders of the Young Ireland Society of 1848, died at San Francisco, and it was decided to bring his body to Ireland,

Country versus Cullenism.

and bury it at Glasnevin. This was just what Stephens needed to arouse popular feeling — the body of a dead rebel receiving the honors of a national funeral. Great preparations had been made for the ceremony, when Cardinal Cullen brought matters to a climax by forbidding the religious offices for the dead man. Stephens retaliated by carrying out the funeral on a great scale without the sanction of the Church, and his cause gained many adherents and much popularity.

315. Tendency toward rebellion. The government was kept informed of what was going on by spies, who were numerous in the Fenian ranks, as in the days of Wolfe Tone and the United Irishmen. (See section **267**.) The gravity of the movement was not realized, however, and might have been misunderstood for some time longer, but for three incidents of special character. (1) During 1861 and 1862, there had been insignificant outbreaks in the south of Ireland, and many schemes had been discussed in America, though no concerted military action had been taken; (2) O'Mahony held a large convention in Chicago, in 1863, to plan a more extensive agitation in Ireland; and (3) in the same month, Stephens started a newspaper in Dublin, called the "Irish People." It attacked the constitutional methods of "The Nation" (see section **303**), and openly counselled rebellion.

The "Irish People."

316. Arrest of Conspirators. The government did nothing, however, until 1865, when a letter from Stephens was discovered, which contained definite plans of rebellion, drawn up by the leaders. A descent was immediately made on the office of the "Irish People," and the leaders there arrested. For two months Stephens managed to elude the police, though all the time in a house near Dublin. He was finally

Stephens escapes.

captured and imprisoned in Richmond jail, from which he escaped ten days later, through the help of some of the warders, who were Fenians. He went to France, and later to America. The other prisoners, of whom John O'Leary and O'Donovan were the ablest, were harshly treated, and most of them were convicted and condemned to penal servitude.

317. End of the Fenian movement. Great joy was manifested at the escape of Stephens, and universal indignation was felt over the severe treatment of his associates. The government, already alarmed by the tone of popular feeling, was further startled at the rescue of two Fenian prisoners, by an armed body of twenty men. This was followed by the attempt of other members of the Fenian body to blow up Clerkenwell jail, where one of the conspirators was imprisoned. The explosion killed twelve, and injured a hundred and twenty.

England alarmed.

England was stricken by a panic, and a cry for vengeance against this dangerous spirit went forth. So far as war measures and armed uprisings were concerned, the Fenians altogether failed, owing to the lack of thorough organization and skilled leadership. But these wild outbursts of passion showed the depth of national feeling from which they sprung, and roused the English government to the realization of the fact that it was face to face with a serious danger. By 1868, the violent phase of Fenianism was over, but the hatred of oppression and injustice remained.

318. The awakening of England. A change had come over the parliament of England since the beginning of the century. Its English members had ceased to be representative only of the landlord class. The extension of the franchise to the artisans and farm laborers had made it far more truly a national body.

Gladstone and Bright.

William Ewart Gladstone was in the ascendant, and was infusing into English policy the principles of humanity and justice. An added moral element was given to his ministry by the great Quaker, John Bright, who struck the key-note of a new policy toward Ireland, in a speech at Limerick, in 1867. "Come," he said, "let us to-night make a new treaty. On England's part let it stand for justice; on the part of Ireland let there be forgiveness." Gladstone had not at this time turned his mind to the consideration of Irish problems, but he was forced to do this by the Clerkenwell explosion, which resounded in the ears of the English Parliament. At last the genius of this great statesman was aroused, and he began the splendid policy of reparation and reconciliation, which has been emulated by successive English governments up to the present day. At no

ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL IN 1817

Begun by John Comyn, archbishop of Dublin, in 1190. The square tower was built in 1370 and the spire in 1740 time, however, did Gladstone or his successors fully sympathize with the character or understand the needs of Ireland, and their constructive policy was interrupted by Crimes Acts and Coercion Acts. But the statesmen of England recognized the fact that Ireland had real grievances, and that they must be redressed.

319. Disestablishment of the Irish Church, 1869. Gladstone saw that the position of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Ireland was one of extreme injustice toward the whole nation, and, on the eve of the general election of 1868, declared his intention to disestablish and disendow this church. He was returned to power at the head of a strong and united Liberal party, and introduced his bill dealing with the Irish Church. The fight over the bill was long and fierce, but Gladstone finally won, and the "Act for the Disestablishment of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Ireland" was triumphantly passed in 1869.

It was provided by this Act that the disestablished church should retain all ecclesiastical buildings in its possession, including Saint Patrick's Cathedral and Christ Church Cathedral in Dublin. The financial interests of the clergy were protected, and a Sustentation Fund was established to provide the income which had hitherto been drawn from tithes. This fund was a sum equal to fourteen times the yearly income of the Church of Ireland. A representative body, called the Synod of the Church of Ireland, was established to govern the Protestant Episcopal Church. At the same time, the Regium Donum, a grant to the Presbyterians of Ireland, and the allowance to the Catholic Training College at Maynooth, were placed on a similar foundation to the Irish Church Sustentation Fund.

The Sustentation Fund.

SUMMARY

Free trade was granted to Ireland, in the year following the famine, by the gradual repeal of the Corn Laws. The Encumbered Estates Court Act, which was passed in 1849 to provide for the compulsory sale of the property of bankrupt landlords, and so bring capital into the country, failed in its aim. Rents increased and "Ribbonism" sprang up. The Tenants' League, formed in 1850, would doubtless have secured reform had its influence not been weakened by sectarian dissension. Discontent developed into the Fenian uprising of 1865–68, which was ended by the imprisonment of its leaders. The Fenian rebellion served to awaken England to an active consideration of Ireland's wrongs, and Mr. Gladstone took his first step towards redressing these wrongs by passing the "Act for the Disestablishment of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Ireland," in 1869.

CHAPTER XXX

THE LAND RESTORED TO THE PEOPLE

1869–1903

English Sovereigns:
Victoria, 1837–1901 Edward VII, 1901

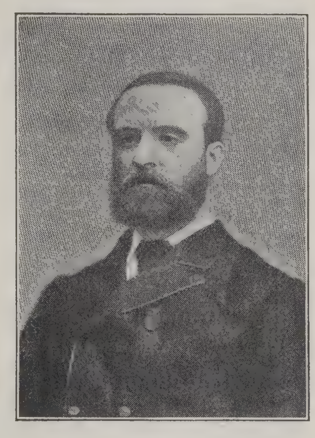
320. Principle of Land Purchase. We have now come to a consideration of the last two acts of reparation to Ireland: the restoration of the land to the people, as the result of the agrarian revolution, and the first steps toward legislative independence. It will be remembered that in the beginning, under the rule of the tribal chiefs, the land belonged to the people, and was safeguarded for them. When Norman influence increased, this tribal system was slowly but completely changed, and by means of confiscations, the land gradually became the absolute property of the landlord, while the tribal rights of the people were destroyed.

Land originally owned by the people.

With the passage of the Church Disestablishment Act, 1869 (see section **319**), a new principle was introduced, which was to prove the salvation of the peasantry of Ireland. This was the principle of Land Purchase under which the estate of an unsuccessful or bankrupt landlord was sold, not to a new landlord, but to the tenants of the estate. The English government advanced the full price to the landlord, and the tenants gradually repaid the English government by instalments spread over a number of years. Thus the

Peasants buy back their land.

Irish people were given the first opportunity to buy back the land of which they had been deprived, by force or fraud in former centuries, though in most cases the instalments were spread out over so long a period that they could hope for entire freedom only for their grandchildren. But more than six thousand tenants purchased their farms under the Act of 1869.



CHARLES STEWART PARNELL
1846–1891

321. The Land League, 1879. It must not be supposed that the land question was voluntarily settled by the English government without any pressure from Ireland. Exactly the contrary is the truth. The people of Ireland were encouraged by the Church Disestablishment Act, which righted one of their wrongs, to seek redress for another. The question of the land was now the gravest which remained to be solved. It involved the right to work, the right to earn food for one's family, the right to possess a home. A ferment of agitation gradually spread through the country which culminated in the formation of the Land League in 1879. The inspirer of this movement was Michael Davitt, but it owed much of its success to the commanding genius of Charles Stewart Parnell. The Land League meant the organizing of a nation in defence of its rights, and was far more effective than any armed rebellion. Its three immediate objects were Fair Rent, Fixed Hold, and Free Sale.

Charles Stewart Parnell.

By Fair Rent, it was meant that the rent to be paid by a tenant should not be fixed arbitrarily by a grasping landlord, but should be justly decided by a court, after examining the land and judging of its extent and fertility. Fixed Hold meant that the tenant should be entitled to hold his farm in security without fear of eviction or extortion, so long as he paid the fair rent decided on by the court. Free Sale meant that the tenant was entitled to sell his interest in his farm to a new tenant, that interest representing the capital he had invested in improving the farm, in fencing, draining, clearing, and building.

Fair Rent.

Fixed Hold.

Free Sale.

The Land League represented the organized demand for these things; and every detail of the question was made thoroughly clear to the peasants of every part of Ireland, at great public meetings, addressed by Parnell and his lieutenants. At first, Parnell had greatly doubted whether the Irish people would take up the land question in a serious way. "Do you think," he asked one of the older patriots, "that the Irish people will take part in an agitation for land reform?" "I think," replied the patriot, "that to settle the land question, the Irish people would go to the gates of hell."

From Ireland, the agitation spread to the United States. An extensive organization was there formed, which set itself the task of providing the "sinews of war." A parliamentary fund was collected, and Parnell was soon in a position to provide for his army of parliamentary followers, who were thus able to leave their other occupations and devote themselves wholly to the work of reform. Parnell commanded a parliamentary party of eighty-six members, and never was a party so well led and so finely disciplined.

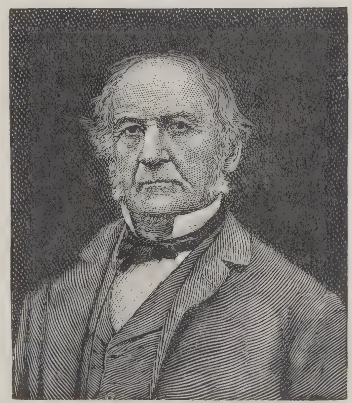
Parnell's Parliamentary party.

Following the example set by Joseph Biggar, of making long speeches and raising technical obstacles, Parnell perfected the system of parliamentary obstruction. He made it impossible for the English Parliament to carry on its work before it had done justice to Ireland.

322. Gladstone's Land Bill, 1881. Meanwhile, the political situation was rapidly changing in England. The Conservative government fell, and Gladstone was returned to power, in 1880, as the head of a strong Liberal government. The Land League agitation had penetrated to every part of Ireland, and had aroused such strong feelings against extortion and injustice that acts of violence and outrage were frequent. Gladstone proclaimed the Land League an unlawful body, and its leaders, including Parnell, were arrested and thrown into prison. Gladstone determined, however, to settle the question of the land as he had settled the question of the church in 1869. He therefore drew up the famous Land Bill of 1881, which secured to the Irish people the three objects that had been agitated for thirty years: Fair Rent, Fixed Hold, and Free Sale. A Land Court was established, with power to hold sessions in every part of Ireland, to fix fair rents, which were thenceforth called judicial rents, and to decide on the value of improvements made by a tenant on his farm, in order to secure

The Land League broken.

Land Court established.



WILLIAM E. GLADSTONE
1809–1898

him in the enjoyment of these improvements. This was a splendid measure, and the good it has done is incalculable.

But many evils had survived from the past, and were destined long to survive. A series of crops, almost as bad as in the famine years, had reduced the tenants to dire poverty, and often to starvation. Yet the landlords insisted on exacting the full arrears of rent, which they had arbitrarily imposed before the days of the Land Court. The consequence was that acts of violence increased, carried on chiefly by secret societies, such as the "Moon-Lighters" and the "Invincibles." Gladstone grew disgusted with the attempt to rule Ireland by force and coercion, and came to an agreement with Parnell, then in Kilmainham jail, under which he was to receive Parnell's support in parliament, in return for measures beneficial to Ireland.

323. The Phœnix Park murders, 1882. Earl Spencer came to Ireland as lord lieutenant, bringing Lord Frederick Cavendish, son of the Duke of Devonshire, as his Chief Secretary. On May 6, 1882, the day of Lord Spencer's state entry into Dublin, Lord Frederick was walking in Phœnix Park with Thomas Burke, the permanent Under Secretary for Irish affairs. Burke was intensely unpopular, as representing the worst elements of the tyrannous system which centred at Dublin Castle. He and Lord Frederick were surrounded by a band of the "Invincibles," attacked, and silently stabbed to death, and their assassins immediately disappeared. The United Kingdom was horror-struck at the news, and coercion took the place of conciliation. But Lord Spencer and Mr. Gladstone were soon converted to Home Rule for Ireland, that is, the reëstablishment of an independent Irish Parliament.

324. The first Land Purchase Act, 1885. Gladstone's ministry fell from power in 1885, and Lord Salisbury and the Conservatives returned to office. Their policy was marked by two principles: first, steady opposition to the agitation of the Land League and the lawlessness which followed in its wake; and second, an organized, methodical, and enlightened attempt to remove the causes of Irish poverty and misery, one by one. They passed the first Land Purchase Act in 1885, a measure to enable the tenants to buy their farms from the landlords, and so to be rid of the exactions and the extortions of rent, once and forever. The English government placed a sum of $25,000,000 in cash at the disposal of the Irish farmers, who could borrow as much as they required to buy their farms at once. They were to repay the government by instalments spread out over forty-nine years, at the end of which time they would be absolute owners of the soil. Several thousand more tenants became owners, and reduced the amount they had to pay yearly by about one third. This measure has worked admirably, as we shall presently see, and the sense of security gained by the farmers has already begun to call forth the qualities of thrift, industry, and providence, which the former conditions of land tenure in Ireland had done everything to destroy.

Conservative principles.

The Conservative ministry at the same time seriously considered the advisability of giving Ireland Home Rule and restoring the National Parliament, and the question was discussed with Parnell. Lord Salisbury's government fell, however, and a new general election brought Gladstone back to power.

325. Failure of Gladstone's Home Rule Bill, 1886. When parliament reassembled, the Liberal party had only a small majority over the Conservatives. Parnell had his strong party of eighty-six Irish Nationalists, and thus held the balance of power. By joining forces with the Conservatives and voting against Gladstone, he could bring about the fall of his ministry. Gladstone faced the situation and decided to bring in the Home Rule Bill, forming a parliamentary alliance, for the purpose, with Parnell. This brought about the famous split in the Liberal party, and the formation of the independent party called the Liberal Unionists, who, though Liberals, opposed Gladstone's policy, and voted to maintain the Union between England and Ireland. The division on the Home Rule Bill was taken in June, 1886, and Mr. Gladstone's measure was lost by thirty votes. The Liberal ministry fell, and Lord Salisbury returned to power.

Division in the Liberal party.

326. Balfour's Irish policy. Arthur James Balfour became Chief Secretary for Ireland in 1887. In this post he played two widely different rôles: first, as the opponent of the Irish party in the House of Commons, he was cool, polite, satirical, and very determined; second, in Ireland itself, he sincerely and effectively studied the wants of the Irish people and set himself to devise remedies to meet them. The second Land Purchase Bill was passed in 1888, by which a second sum of $25,000,000 was put at the disposal of Irish tenants who wished to purchase their farms. Mr. Balfour also turned his attention to what are called the "congested districts" in the west of Ireland. The condition in these districts has been well described by T. W. Russell, one of the most gifted of the Liberal Unionists: "A great part of the crowded population of the western seaboard live subject to the most shocking conditions. The land is in many places hardly

Second Land Purchase Bill, 1888.

Congested districts.

worth cultivating. The riches of the sea are not for these poor people; they have no boats, no capital. The skill of the fisherman has ceased to be developed; and even were the fish caught, the market does not exist, i. e. there are no means of transit thereto. Struggling for a wretched existence upon these arid patches of soil, growing potatoes and little else, feeding a pig and rearing a scarecrow of a calf — this is the method by which thousands of human beings drag out a miserable existence."

ARTHUR J. BALFOUR
1848-

Balfour set himself to remedy this by extending a system of railways through the "congested districts," obtaining a grant of seven million dollars from parliament for that purpose. In 1891, Balfour went very much further. He had been convinced by this time, and had convinced his party, that in land purchase lay the solution of the Irish question. He obtained a new advance from parliament, this time for $170,000,000, to be applied to the purchase of farms by the farmers. He also formed the "Congested Districts Board," which was "charged with the duty of purchasing land under the Purchase Acts for the purpose of enlarging and consolidating farms, of improving the breed of horses, cattle, and poultry, aiding the fishing industry by erecting piers and boat-slips, by the supply of boats and fish-curing stations, and of developing agriculture and other industry." Thus a constructive period gradually replaced the work of confiscation which England had carried on in Ireland during centuries.

Third Land Purchase Bill, 1891.

327. Failure of the Second Home Rule Bill, 1893. The next few years saw the division of the Irish party, the death of Parnell, and the introduction of Gladstone's Second Home Rule Bill. In one respect it differed widely from the former bill. Gladstone had previously proposed to reëstablish the National Parliament in Ireland, and to withdraw the Irish members from the English Parliament. He now proposed to retain eighty of the Irish members in the English Parliament, after founding a separate National Parliament in Dublin. It was objected that under this arrangement the people of Ireland would not only govern themselves, but would also have a right to interfere in the affairs of England and Scotland, and on these grounds the measure was rejected by the House of Lords. Gladstone retired from public life, and the Conservatives soon returned to power.

328. Local government for Ireland, 1898. In the new Conservative government the work so well begun by Balfour was carried on by his brother, Gerald Balfour, the new Chief Secretary. A supplementary Land Purchase Act was passed, very important and valuable in itself, but completely overshadowed by the "Local Government Act," which was the great achievement of Gerald Balfour's administration. The result of this act was practically to establish a local parliament for every county in Ireland, thirty-two in all, with the title of County Councils. These local parliaments had power to raise taxes for the building of roads and bridges, the support of schools and hospitals, and the protection of the poor under the Poor Laws. Of the thirty-two local parliaments, all but five were strongly Nationalist in constitution. This amounted practically to the reëstablishment of tribal government, and was one step more in the restoration of ancient Ireland. This great measure was passed in 1898, practically closing the work of the nineteenth century, which will always be remembered as that in which the regeneration of Ireland was begun. The dawn of the twentieth century was marked by the reunion of the Irish Parliamentary Party after a decade of division.

County Councils.

The cultivators of Ireland have for over a generation had an opportunity of buying back their lands by instalments. More than six thousand tenants purchased their farms under the Irish Church Act of 1869. The Land Acts of 1870 and 1881 each turned nearly a thousand tenants into proprietors. The Land Purchase Act of 1885 extended the same privilege to two thousand more. The Land Purchase Acts of 1891 and 1896 turned into owners of the soil no less than thirty-seven thousand former tenants.

329. Wyndham's Land Purchase Act, 1903. Arthur James Balfour became prime minister in 1902, with George Wyndham, a descendant of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, as Chief Secretary for Ireland. He decided to settle the Irish land question once for all, and as far as possible to sweep the Irish landlords out of existence. Parnell had said: "When the Irish landlords are as anxious to go as we are to get rid of them, the land question will be practically solved." Wyndham saw that the time was rapidly approaching when this would be true. Through the operation of Gladstone's Land Courts the rents had been twice lowered all over Ireland. A third settlement of these rents was approaching. It has long been the custom in Ireland to make the selling-value of the land depend upon the rent. In general, land is sold for a sum of money equal to the rent for twenty years; thus, if the rent of a farm were a hundred dollars a year, its selling-value would be two thousand dollars. In Ireland this is expressed by saying that the land is sold at "twenty years' purchase." If the Land Court reduced the rent to seventy-five dollars a year, the selling-value of the farm would fall to fifteen hundred dollars, so much sheer loss to the landlord.

Wyndham becomes Chief Secretary.

Selling-value of land dependent upon rent.

The Irish landlords had now seen the value of their property shrink twice under the operation of the Land Courts. A third shrinkage was rapidly approaching. This gave Wyndham his opportunity. His new Land Purchase Bill included two propositions: first, to put at the disposal of the Irish tenants a sum of English money so large that practically every tenant in Ireland could take advantage of it; and, second, to induce the landlords to part with their farms by offering them a bonus equal to about one eighth of the selling-price of the land. Thus the tenant was able to buy cheap, while the landlord sold dear, both parties being in an extremely satisfactory position. Wyndham made it possible for the whole nation to buy back the land, and for the first time in history a whole people undertook the work of national redemption on the instalment plan. Wyndham's Bill became law, and came into operation on November 1, 1903.

330. The success of Land Purchase. A government report recently printed sheds a flood of light on the working of Land Purchase during the thirty-four years preceding Wyndham's Act. It is found that, though the land has always been the first care of the purchasing tenants, the houses, both dwelling and farm buildings, have been very materially improved since they became owners of the soil. In all the four provinces, this is the general testimony. New buildings have sprung up, old ones have been repaired. On some estates, where the condition of purchased and non-purchased holdings can be contrasted, it is found that, while the houses on the former have been much improved, on the latter they are in a very neglected state. The middleman has been done away with. Subletting and subdivision are practically extinct. Tenants will no longer sell part of their farms. "I could well perceive," says one of the English land inspectors, "the love that these people have for their little homes, and how desperate must be their position before parting with them; and purchase seems to make them cling to them even more than before." Not less favorable is the verdict as to the credit and solvency of the new purchasers. It has increased all around, as is testified to by local bankers and shop-keepers, who are in a position to know best. A very good symptom is the fact that these new land-owners are chary of getting into debt, and think twice before they borrow money, even when their credit is good.

We can well see that a great moral change must accompany this steady material regeneration. A feeling of safety is everywhere springing up, in place of the "paralyzing insecurity and doubt that prevailed for generations." A group of tenant-purchasers in Roscommon declare that "since they have got a hold of the land," they have not spared themselves in making improvements, which will be their own for all time. A parish priest in Cavan says that "purchase has brought peace. The people are more industrious, more sober, and more hopeful as to their future prospects." The police say that, before purchase, they found the people troublesome and unruly, but now all is changed, and quietness and order reign instead. The tenant-purchasers are full of supreme contentment at their altered situation. A priest in Fermanagh says the people in his parish are more industrious now, while the consumption of whiskey has diminished by a third. The evidence of these two ecclesiastics vividly recalls the words put in the mouth of the Irish by Sir R. Kane in 1844: "We were reckless, ignorant, improvident, drunken, and idle; we were idle, for we had nothing to do; we were reckless, for we had no hope; we were ignorant, for learning was denied us; we were improvident, for we had no future; we were drunken, for we sought to forget our misery."

Benefits of purchase.

331. The Department of Agriculture. The people, thus gradually restored to possession of their ancestral land, are helped at all points to make good use of their opportunities. Efficient aid is given by the Department of Agriculture, presided over by Sir Horace Plunket, who has been its inspiring genius from the outset. This board seeks to make the best knowledge and experience available for the cultivators of land in every part of Ireland. It works through a council, which is practically a parliament of agriculture, drawn from every county, by election of members from the County Councils. The board has a million dollars a year to spend on the work of amelioration, and is doing good work year after year. It is supplemented by a Board of Technical Instruction, which has a sum of nearly a million dollars a year at its disposal; and the two boards are doing all that is possible to make the demoralizing influence of the old system of unjust land laws a thing of the past, something to be pardoned and forgotten.

SUMMARY

In the beginning the land of Ireland was owned by the people. As the unjust landlord system grew out of confiscation and plantation, the peasantry were gradually reduced to misery and starvation. They were finally saved and enabled to regain their land by the principle of Land Purchase, which meant that the English government advanced money to the tenants to buy their farms, and the latter repaid the money to the government on the instalment plan. The Land League, formed in 1879, took up the land question, demanding Fair Rent, Fixed Hold, and Free Sale, but the agitation it produced was so violent that the league was opposed as unlawful by the government, and its leaders arrested. To Charles Stewart Parnell, at the head of his Irish Nationalist Party in parliament, is due much of the credit of solving the land question. Gladstone passed a bill in 1881 granting the "Three F's"—Fair Rent, Fixed Hold, and Free Sale—to the Irish, and everything tended toward conciliation when the Phœnix Park murders in May, 1882, caused a reaction. The first Land Purchase Act was passed in 1885, while Lord Salisbury was prime minister. Gladstone introduced a Home Rule Bill in 1886, which was defeated by the Lords. Arthur James Balfour became chief secretary for Ireland in 1887 and secured the second Land Purchase Act in 1888, and the third in 1891. He also passed measures to remedy the evils of the "Congested Districts." A bill granting a system of local government to Ireland through thirty-two County Councils was passed in 1898. Wyndham's Land Purchase Act of 1903 finally settled the land question by providing a sum of money large enough to permit every peasant to buy his farm, so that the soil of Ireland is once more passing into the possession of the Irish people.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE IRISH ON THE CONTINENT

332. Irish troops in European armies. Toward the end of the seventeenth century, when the penal laws were instituted, many Irish Catholics left their country and sought a measure of freedom on the continent. Numbers of men of great energy and ability began to enter the service of foreign kings as officers and soldiers, winning distinction and fame. As years went on, and oppression increased in Ireland, the numbers of Irish soldiers on the continent grew larger, so that we can scarcely name a battle of any importance in which they did not figure in a conspicuous manner. And it is worthy of note that the Irish regiment was always found with its face to the foe in the thick of the fight. Macaulay, in writing of the effect of the penal laws, tells how Irish Catholics rose to important military and civil positions in France, Italy, and Spain, in the armies of Frederick the Great and of Maria Theresa ; Irish Catholics, who, if they had remained at home, would have been looked down upon by all "the ignorant and worthless squireens who had signed the declaration against transubstantiation. In his palace at Madrid he [Wall, minister of Ferdinand the Sixth] had the pleasure of being assiduously courted by the ambassador of George the Second, and of bidding defiance in high terms to the ambassador of George the Third. Scattered all over Europe were to be found Irish counts, Irish barons, Irish Knights of Saint Louis and of Saint Leopold, of the White Eagle and of the Golden Fleece, who, if they had remained in the house of bondage, could not have been ensigns of marching regiments or freemen of petty corporations."

333. The Irish in France. Greater numbers of Irishmen have fought in the armies of France, long England's bitterest enemy, than under the flag of any other nation on the continent. After the siege and surrender of Limerick, in 1691, almost the entire garrison embarked for France, on the advice of Sarsfield, and under the command of Lieutenant-General Sheldon, and there formed the famous Second Brigade. What was known as the First Brigade consisted of the three regiments sent the year before to Louis XIV, in exchange for help from France in the cause of James II. But in this exchange the French did not keep faith, for they sent over several very inferior regiments composed of young and inexperienced men, while the soldiers returned from Ireland were picked regiments of old and disciplined men under Mountcashel, Daniel O'Brien, eldest son of Lord Clare, and Arthur Dillon. This brigade served with Catinat in Italy, where they distinguished themselves in many fights on the old battle-fields of the world.

After surrender of Limerick.

The Second Brigade, under the command of Sarsfield, took part in the siege of Namur, which surrendered after seven days. Sarsfield, at its head, publicly received the thanks of the French for the great service rendered them, and in the following March was made a field-marshal. But he was not destined to enjoy his honors long, for in July of the same year, 1693, he met his death at the battle of Landen, fighting in the cause of a petty tyrant who refused to tolerate the

Sarsfield.

Huguenots. Sarsfield's death was made all the more sad and bitter by the realization that he had not sacrificed it in the service of his own country, nor even for a great ideal. As he lay mortally wounded on the battle-field, he is said to have raised his hand wet with his own blood, and to have cried, "Oh, that this had been for Ireland."

In the War of the Spanish Succession.

During the War of the Spanish Succession, which broke out in 1701, the Irish Brigade held an important position in all the great battles, and rendered invaluable service to France. The successful defence of Cremona when surprised by Prince Eugène was due to the valiant stand of a small company of Irishmen who held the Po gate of the city against greatly superior numbers. The bravery of the Irish troops was conspicuous at the famous battles of Blenheim (1704), Oudenarde (1708), and Malplaquet (1709), and Irishmen fought under Berwick at the battle of Almanza. Mahony won victories for the French in Sicily, while at the battle of Fontenoy, in 1745, the greatest victory of France over England since the battle of Hastings, in 1066, the Irish acquitted themselves in such a manner that the English king is said to have exclaimed, "Cursed be the laws which deprive me of such subjects!"

Irish under Napoleon.

After the French Revolution, during the Consulate and the Empire, the war records of the Irish in France were no less remarkable. Napoleon found two generals and five colonels, to say nothing of numerous troops, among the exiles who poured into France after the Irish rebellion of 1798. After the Restoration most of these men remained true to the fallen Napoleon, but a new line of French-Irish descendants of the men of the Brigade rose into prominence. An Irish count was the last to draw sword for the Bourbons in

1791, while an Irish general stood by them to the end in 1830.

The MacMahons.

Among the most distinguished Irish families in France during the middle of the last century were the MacMahons. They were Irish Catholics who maintained their allegiance to the Stuarts, and thus came to settle in France. The most conspicuous member of this family, the famous Marshal MacMahon, was born at Sully (Saône et Loire) in 1808. His father had been made a peer by Charles X, whose personal friend he was. The boy was educated at St. Cyr, and then entered the army and went to Algeria, where he

MARSHAL MACMAHON ON HORSEBACK
1808–1893

saw hard service for several years. He had risen to the rank of brigadier-general when the revolution of 1848 broke out, and after that date he was promoted in swift succession: he became general of division in 1852, and was made Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor in the following year; he was in command of infantry under Bosquet in the Crimea, was made Grand Cross of the Legion and senator for his part in the assault of the Malakoff, and finally commander-in-chief of the forces in Algeria. He won his greatest military honor, however, when in command of the second army corps of the Alps, in 1859, at the battle of Magenta. After the battle he was made Duke of Magenta and marshal of France, by the Emperor Napoleon III. Two years later, in 1861, he represented the emperor at the coronation of William III of Prussia, and in 1864 he became governor-general of Algeria. In 1870, he commanded the army from Châlons to Sedan, and was wounded just in time to be free from the responsibility of the surrender. After the fall of M. Thiers in the spring of 1873, this great Irishman was elected President of the French, a position which he filled with dignity, force, and tact until June, 1879.

Irish in the French Republic.

The following extract from a lecture by Sir C. G. Duffy, in Melbourne, gives an idea of the position of the Irishmen in France during the presidency of Marshal MacMahon: "In the drawing room of the President of the French Republic, who is the natural head of the exiled families, I met descendants of Irish chiefs who took refuge on the continent at the time of the Plantation of Ulster by the first Stuart; descendants of Irish soldiers who sailed from Limerick with Sarsfield, or a little later with the 'Wild Geese' [Jacobites]; of Irish soldiers who shared the fortunes of Charles Edward [the 'Young Pretender'];

of Irish peers and gentlemen to whom life in Ireland without a career became intolerable in the dark era between the fall of Limerick and the rise of Henry Grattan; and kinsmen of soldiers of a later date, who began life as United Irishmen, and ended as staff officers of Napoleon. Who can measure what was lost to Ireland and the [British] Empire by driving these men and their descendants into the armies and diplomacy of France? All of them except the men of '98 have become so French that they scarce speak any other language. There is a Saint Patrick's Day dinner in Paris every 17th of March, where the company consists chiefly of military and civil officers of Irish descent, who commemorate the national apostle, but where the language of the speeches is French, because no other would be generally understood. I reproached a gallant young soldier of this class, whom I met in Paris, with having relinquished the link of a common language with the native soil of his race. 'Monsieur,' he replied proudly, 'when my ancestors left Ireland they would have scorned to accept the language any more than the laws of England; they spoke the native Gaelic.'"

334. Irish soldiers in Spain and Austria. In 1585, Queen Elizabeth raised a forced levy of 1500 Irish troops to fight against the Spaniards in the Lowlands. As might be expected, these troops, which were led by Sir Edward Stanley, an English Catholic, took the first opportunity to exchange the service of Queen Elizabeth for that of the Catholic king of Spain. Stanley's corps distinguished itself in many battles, and "though young troops, displayed the steadiness of veterans and a spirit of gallantry not surpassed even in that military age."

Stanley's corps.

In 1598, the Irish were at the capture of Orsoy and the siege of Rhinberg. In 1599, they fought under Cardinal Andrew of Austria, governor of the Netherlands. They continued to serve in the Netherlands until the peace of 1609 between the States and the Archduke Albert, sharing in the capture of Ostend and Grave, and everywhere fighting with extreme bravery. When Charles II of England was an exile on the continent, there were several Irish regiments in the service of Spain and France. One of these was commanded by Richard Grace of Gracefield in Queen's County. Justin McCarthy, Lord Muskerry, afterwards Lord Mountcashel, commanded another regiment. Sir John Darcy led a third.

In the 17th century.

Three times during the eighteenth century, men of Irish race were ambassadors of Spain at the English court. Alexander O'Reilly, afterwards Spanish ambassador at the court of Louis XVI, was governor of Cadiz. "It is strange," said Napoleon, on his second entry into Vienna in 1809, "that on each occasion on arriving in the Austrian capital I should find myself in treaty with Count O'Reilly." The dragoon regiment led by the same Count O'Reilly saved the remnant of the Austrians at Austerlitz. The Blakes, O'Donnells, and Sarsfields were equally famous in Spain. O'Donnell, Duke of Tetuan, was a dominant figure in Spanish politics during the middle of the nineteenth century.

In the 18th century and later.

335. Irishmen in Portugal. The O'Neill, Count de Tyrone, recently writing of the Irish in Portugal, says: "Here also the Irish blood is in great favor since more than two centuries. Among dukes and barons, ministers, judges, lawyers, high-reputed officers in the army and navy, everywhere, old Irish names are to be met with and the names of O'Donell, O'Neill, O'Daly, de la

Poer, Kelly, FitzGerald, O'Meagher, Sarsfield, O'Farrell and many others are repeatedly met with in our history. An O'Neill, Count Santa Monica, was the tutor of the present king, Don Carlos, and the family enjoys a high position at court. The Duchess of Saldanha is a FitzGerald, in fact this little country is a great example of the worth of Irish blood."

336. Other distinguished Irishmen on the continent. A recent writer says: "Within a century, the great Leinster house of Kavanagh counted in Europe an aulic councillor, a governor of Prague, a field-marshal at Vienna, a field-marshal in Poland, a grand chamberlain in Saxony, a count of the Holy Roman Empire, a French Conventionist of 1793, Godefroy Cavaignac, co-editor with Armand Carrell and Eugène Cavaignac, sometime dictator in France, and Edward Kavanagh, minister of Portugal. Russia found among the exiles a governor-general of Livonia. Count Thomond was commander at Languedoc. Lally was governor at Pondicherry. O'Dwyer was commander of Belgrade; Lacy, of Riga; Lawless, governor of Majorca."

Count Taafe is another of the Irish rulers of nations. Descended from a distinguished Sligo family, he was for years a commanding figure in Austro-Hungarian politics. Count Taafe was also a Knight of the Golden Fleece, a Knight of Malta, and a Knight of St. John. Baron O'Carroll is a rising light of the Austrian diplomatic service. In the Austrian army there are also a Baron O'Brien, a Baron Brady, a Baron McGuire and a Count O'Kelly, as well as many other distinguished officers of Celtic descent.

Many Irishmen are counts of the Holy Roman Empire. Among these are Count O'Gorman, Count Russell, Count Moore, and Count Cecil-Kearney. In Russia, the family of General Obrutscheff is descended from the Irish O'Bryans, just as the Odontscheffs are descended from the O'Donnells.

It is an interesting subject of speculation, though a melancholy one, to consider what the history of Ireland might have been, had all these men of force and genius been free to use their great powers for the betterment of their native land, instead of spending their lives as exiles among foreign peoples.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE IRISH IN AMERICA

337. Colonists before the Revolution. About the time of the flight of the earls, 1607 (see section **151**), North America began to receive colonists from Europe. It thus happened that at the time of the next great Irish exodus, after the Rebellion of 1641 and the Cromwellian invasion, a new field was opened for the Irish who were driven from their native land. They first came as slaves. The merchants of Bristol made arrangements with the English government to send Irish men, women, and girls to the sugar plantations in the West Indies and to New England. The commissioners of Ireland under the Commonwealth gave these merchants orders directed to the governors of Irish garrisons, who were to deliver to them the prisoners of war in their keeping. The destitute who were of an age to labor, or, if women, were of marriageable age, were also handed over to them, and further directions were given to all in authority to seize those who had no visible means and deliver them to the agents of the British merchants. On September 14, 1653, Captain John Vernon contracted to supply two hundred and fifty women of the Irish nation above twelve years and under forty-five, also three hundred men above twelve years and under fifty, from the south of Ireland, and to transport them into New England. This is only one instance out of many. It is calculated that in four years the English firms of slave-dealers shipped 6400 Irish men

Brought as slaves to America.

and women, boys and maidens, to the British colonies of North America.

Voluntary immigration.

The stream of immigration from Ireland, thus begun in slavery, continued under more or less voluntary conditions in the years that followed. Large numbers of Irish Catholics came to Maryland, where there was more religious liberty than in England. We even find the Protestant inhabitants trying to check this immigration by passing an act in 1708 imposing a fine of twenty shillings per head on Irish servants, "to prevent the importing of too great a number of Irish Papists into the province." This tax was evidently insufficient, for Maryland passed another act in 1717, with even more stringent provisions against "Irish Papists."

Number of immigrants.

Details for the rest of the pre-Revolutionary period are incomplete, but we have certain significant facts which indicate the truth. In the years 1771 and 1772 the number of emigrants from Ireland to America amounted to 17,350. Within the first fortnight of August, 1773, no less than 3500 emigrants from Ireland arrived at Philadelphia. From the beginning of the century the proportion of Irish to all other immigrants had been very great. In one year, of which we have the record, the numbers were as follows: Irish, 5655; English and Welsh, 267; German, 243; Scotch, 43. Numbers of Irish emigrants also went to the Carolinas and Georgia, and it is probable that the proportions were about the same as in Pennsylvania. Very many of them were doubtless disguised by the fact that they had been compelled by law to drop their Celtic family names and to take names like Black and Brown, Smith and Butler, which gave them a Saxon air, though they were of Celtic race.

338. The Irish in the Revolutionary War. It is interesting to remember that the first action in the War of the Revolution was led by an Irishman. On December 14, 1774, four months before the fight at Concord, a body of armed men, led by Major John Sullivan, stormed the English stronghold of Fort William and Mary at Newcastle, near Portsmouth, N. H. The garrison was captured, the munitions of war taken, and the British flag hauled down. Six months later, the powder captured at Newcastle was used at Bunker Hill. Major John Sullivan was the grandson of Major Philip O'Sullivan, one of the defenders of Limerick, who went to France with Sarsfield after the treaty. Three of Major Sullivan's brothers were likewise officers in the Continental army, and later on two of them became governors of Massachusetts and New Hampshire.

Major John Sullivan.

ANTHONY WAYNE
1745-1796

It is estimated that about one fourth of the American officers in the Revolutionary War were Irish by birth or descent. Among the most famous was Major-General Anthony Wayne, known as Mad Anthony on account of his reckless valor. Born of Irish parents, he entered the army at the age of twenty-nine, and fought in Canada, and at the battles of Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth. He led the assault in the desperate attack on Stony Point. General Walter Stewart came to America from Londonderry.

Major-General Anthony Wayne.

Other Irishmen.

He entered the army when very young, and so great was his military ability that he was a colonel at twenty-one, being promoted over the heads of many native American officers several years his senior. General William Thompson was also a native of the north of Ireland. He accompanied Montgomery in his expedition to Quebec, and commanded the American forces at the battle of Trois Rivières in Canada, in June, 1776. Major-General Knox was of Irish parentage, and served with great distinction as an artillery officer during the whole of the Revolutionary War. He was Secretary of War and of the Navy under Washington until 1794. General William Irvine was born in the north of Ireland. He raised, commanded, and equipped a regiment of the Pennsylvania line, and was intrusted with the defence of the northwestern frontier. Later on he entered Congress. General Edward Hand, Washington's adjutant-general, was also of Irish descent. Brigadier-General Stephen Moylan, a native of the south of Ireland and brother of the Catholic Bishop of Cork, was one of Washington's most distinguished cavalry officers. General Richard Montgomery, the first commander of the Continental army to fall in battle, was born in County Donegal at Conroy Castle near Raphoe. After Montgomery's death at Quebec, John Sullivan became general of the northern division of the Continental army, and served with great distinction during the rest of the campaign. General John Stark, whose "Irish brogue" Daniel Webster loved to imitate, came from one of the older Irish families of New Hampshire. He fought at Bunker Hill, Trenton, Princeton, and Bennington, where he gained great renown. Colonel Richard Butler, who afterwards rose to the rank of major-general, was descended from the Leinster Ormonds. He and two brothers greatly distinguished themselves at Stony Point and Saratoga. John Barry, the first commodore of the American navy, was born in County Wexford.

Their influence in the American Revolution.

Besides these distinguished men, there were many soldiers of Irish birth or descent in the forces of the French allies, as for example, Count Arthur Dillon, who had brought with him his own Irish regiment which he had commanded in France. The Irish element in the rank and file of the American army was even stronger. In the English Parliamentary Commission which was appointed to investigate the numerous failures of the British generals in America, Edmund Burke raised the question of the nationality of the American troops. He was told that General Lee had declared that, "half the rebel Continental army were from Ireland." Luke Gardiner gave similar evidence in the Dublin Parliament. Speaking in April, 1784, on Irish commerce, he is reported to have said: "America was lost by Irish emigrants. I am assured, from the best authority, the major part of the American army was composed of Irish, and that the Irish language was as commonly spoken in the American ranks as English. I am also informed it was their valor that determined the contest, so that England had America detached from her by force of Irish emigrants."

339. The Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick. Some years before the outbreak of the war, the Irish settlers in America formed "The Society of the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick," in which all differences of religion and politics were forgotten. The society met at Philadelphia, then the chief city of the Thirteen Colonies, and consisted of men distinguished in the social and political life of the times. This society naturally held very decided views on the struggle for American independence.

Their work for independence.

Washington spoke of it as "distinguished for the firm adherence of its members to the glorious cause in which we are involved." Many of its members helped to form the first troop of Pennsylvania cavalry, to which Washington paid a warm tribute for its noble example of discipline and subordination, its spirit and its bravery. To this society belonged most of the distinguished generals whose names have been enumerated. Brigadier-General Stephen Moylan was the first president of the "Friendly Sons." When the Bank of Pennsylvania was founded to supply funds for the support of the American army, nearly one third of the subscribers, and more than one third of the capital, were supplied by the "Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick," who contributed $517,500, out of a total of $1,500,000. After the war was over, the society met on December 17, 1781, and "His Excellency, General Washington, was unanimously adopted a member of the society." To this famous society many of the most distinguished Irish-Americans have since belonged, and belong to-day.

340. Emigration before the famine. The Napoleonic wars only checked emigration to America. After the battle of Waterloo, the tide began to flow again. It is hard to get correct figures at first, since great numbers of Irish men and women were recorded simply as having come from the British Isles, and their Irish origin was thus obscured. It is estimated that in the decade beginning with 1820, more than 27,000 Irish emigrants came to the United States ; in the following decade the numbers were about 30,000. Between 1840 and 1850, the number rose to 162,000, the great increase being due to the migration caused by the famine. From 1847 to 1854 inclusive, the arrivals from Ireland averaged 150,000 a year, and up to 1872, the total of Irish emigrants to the United States exceeded 3,000,000. It is probable that there are from 12,000,000 to 15,000,000 people of Irish birth or descent in the United States to-day.

341. After the famine. The Irish men and women who escaped from their famine-stricken country after the "Black Forty-Seven" were, for the most part, at the end of their resources. So long as they had any money they had clung to their old homes, and they had finally reached the shores of America by a supreme effort which left them without means to obtain favorable conditions in their new home. As a consequence, they remained largely in the eastern cities, unable to penetrate into the west, or to obtain farms and form settlements in the country. The effect of city life, in crowded tenements, has been extremely disadvantageous, and is felt in a marked degree to the present day.

342. Irish in the Civil War. When the Civil War between the North and South broke out, in April, 1861, the Irish in America, with the bitterness of their forced exile still in their hearts, were considering the possibility of a new armed insurrection against England. They saw in the war an opportunity for military training, and numbers of them joined the armies of the North with this aim in view. It is computed that not less than 170,000 Irishmen were enrolled in the Northern army; and they fought in Virginia, in Georgia, and the Carolinas with the same valor and fire that the Irish of the Revolutionary period had shown on the battle-fields of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. A single instance from an English historian must suffice to illustrate this valor. The Hon. Francis Lawley writes: "To the Irish division commanded by General Meagher was principally committed the desperate task of bursting out of the town of Fredericksburg, and forming under the withering fire of the Confederate batteries, to attack Marye's Heights, lowering immediately in their front. Never at Fontenoy, at Albuera, or at Waterloo, was more undoubted courage displayed by the sons of Erin than during those six frantic dashes which they directed against the almost impregnable position of their foe. . . . The bodies, which lie in dense masses within forty yards of the muzzles of Colonel Walton's guns are the best evidence of what manner of men they were who pressed on to death with the dauntlessness of a race which has gained glory on a thousand battle-fields."

At Fredericksburg.

General Thomas Francis Meagher, the organizer of the Irish Brigade, was born in Waterford, in 1823. He took part in Smith O'Brien's rising, and was arrested and condemned to death. His sentence was commuted to transportation to Van Dieman's Land, whence he escaped in 1852, and came to America. General Meagher was only one among many of the distinguished Irishmen in the ranks of the Federal army.

General Meagher.

343. The Fenian movement and its aftermath. Immediately after the close of the War of the Rebellion came the Fenian rising in Ireland. Many of its agents were Americans, who had learned military science in the war. The movement failed as a political enterprise, but left very important literary results, not only in Ireland, but also in America. Several of the leaders who were arrested were sent as convicts to Australia, as the men of '48, like John Mitchel and Meagher, had been before them.

The most noteworthy of these political exiles was John Boyle O'Reilly, who was only twenty-two at the time of the Fenian rising. He escaped from Australia in

February, 1869, and after many perilous and dramatic adventures, came to America, where he won a reputation as an orator and writer of great distinction. Among his verses is a poem on Western Australia, which records the impression made on him by the land of his exile: —

John Boyle O'Reilly.

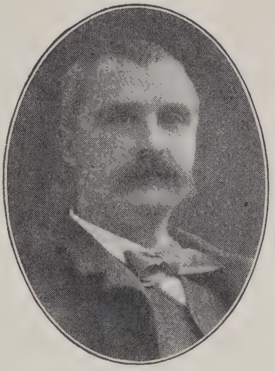
"Nation of sun and sin,
Thy flowers and crimes are red,
And thy heart is sore within
While the glory crowns thy head.
Land of the songless birds,
What was thine ancient crime,
Burning through lapse of time
Like a prophet's cursing words?"

For many years O'Reilly was connected with the "Boston Pilot," which, with the "Irish World," represented the most influential and best written section of the Irish-American press. As many of the writers in these papers were recent political exiles, it is only natural that their tone was militant. His place on the "Boston Pilot" has been taken by another distinguished man of letters, James Jeffrey Roche, who has written an excellent life of O'Reilly. The spirit of O'Reilly's work in both prose and verse is well represented by the following lines addressed to his native land: —

"Ah, we call thee Mother Erin! Mother thou in right of years;
Mother in the large fruition; mother in the joys and tears.
All thy life has been a symbol; we can only read a part:
God will flood thee yet with sunshine for the woes that drench thy heart.

"Island of Destiny! Innisfail! for thy faith is the payment near;
The mine of the future is opened, and the golden veins appear.
Thy hands are white and thy page unstained. Reach out for the glorious years,
And take them from God as his recompense for thy fortitude and tears."

While O'Reilly's best verses related to Ireland, he also made considerable contribution to the literature of his adopted country on themes strictly American. When this gifted writer died in August, 1890, being then only forty-six years old, the general verdict on his character and work was eloquently expressed by Cardinal Gibbons, who bore witness in these words to the virtues of his fellow countryman: "The country of his adoption vies with the land of his birth in testifying to the uprightness of his life, the usefulness of his career and his example, the gentleness of his character, the nobleness of his soul."



JOHN BOYLE O'REILLY
1844–1890

Morgan J. O'Brien.

The system of organization, which had failed to bring the Fenian movement to success, was revived in the days of the Land League, by men like Judge Morgan J. O'Brien, with the happiest results. To the funds subscribed in America was largely due the success of the land agitation in parliament, and consequently the passing of the successive Land Bills, which are giving back the land to the people.

344. Archbishop Ireland's settlements. A distinguished Irishman of great genius and courage formed a plan for transferring the overcrowded Irish population of the cities to the open lands of the West. In 1876, Dr. Ireland planted his first colony in Swift County, Minnesota. He selected a tract of land several thousand acres in extent, which he obtained on very favorable terms from one of the great railroad companies. He then formed a bureau, with a secretary, who supplied full details of the character, price, and condition of the land to Catholic families who desired to secure homes in the great West. A church, a post-office, and a large general store were established, but no public-houses were allowed to be opened. Total abstinence from intoxicants was inculcated as one of the conditions of success in life on the prairies. Town sites were laid out, and lumber for building was brought by the railroad. Intending settlers could have twenty acres of their farms ploughed up the summer before their arrival. The example set by Archbishop Ireland and the St. Paul Catholic Colonization Bureau has been largely imitated through the West, and the benefit to the Irish inhabitants of the Eastern cities and to newcomers from Ireland has been immense.

345. The Catholic Church in America. It is instructive to consider the position of the Catholic Church in Ireland, persecuted and proscribed for centuries, and reduced at one time to a few hundred thousands, on the head of whose priests a price was set equal to that paid for the destruction of a wolf; and to compare it with the situation of the same church in the United States, with ten million adherents, presided over by a hierarchy of seventeen archbishops and eighty-one bishops, all but a small percentage of whom are descended from the original Irish race. No more striking contrast could well be conceived.

Its extent.

The Catholic Church in America seems destined to accomplish certain great ends. All through history the Irish race has held firmly to spiritual ideals. The political troubles which overtook Ireland during three centuries were largely the result of the firm adherence of the Irish race to their church, and the primal spirituality of Ireland was strengthened

Spirituality.

and purified in the fires of persecution. The same spirituality remains, though largely undeveloped and not yet fully conscious, in the Irish race in America. It is easy to see how great a part this spirituality may play in tempering the materialism of a hard and self-seeking age. This is one part of the church's mission in America.

Law and discipline.

The Catholic Church stands for law and discipline as well as for spirituality. One of the great dangers in American civilization is a disregard of law, or what is much worse, a misuse of the machinery of law for personal and selfish ends. The spirit of reverence for the law is obscured, and the whole state is thus brought into danger. Here again, the Catholic Church, with its spirit of discipline and obedience, has a great mission to fulfil.

The Ancient Order of Hibernians. This most noteworthy organization of Catholics of Irish race covers practically every state and territory in the Union, with branches in Canada and Mexico. Its divisions conform to the civil framework of the United States, also following the lines of the Catholic Church. Thus, as always, the Irish national and religious ideals are closely related. Many leaders of the Catholic Church are within its ranks, and a high prelate fills the office of National Chaplain. The Order seeks to promote Christian charity, to care for the sick and needy among its members, to forward the cause of practical religion. It also seeks to foster national pride, to advance the cause of Irish nationality and to preserve the language, literature, traditions and ideals of Ireland. It has already contributed fifty thousand dollars for a chair of Gaelic Literature in the Catholic University of America.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE IRISH IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

346. The Irish in India. One of the most distinguished Irish families in the history of the British Empire, was that of Garrett Wellesley, Earl of Mornington (1720–1781), whose birthplace was in County Meath. He was equally famous as a statesman and a musician, and was especially interested in the traditional music of Ireland. He received the degree of Doctor of Music from Trinity College, Dublin, a degree which is very rarely given, and only in recognition of the highest merit. His fame, however, is eclipsed by that of his two distinguished sons. The eldest of these was Richard, afterwards Marquis of Wellesley, born in Dublin, in 1760. He sat in the Irish House of Lords some time before the Union. Later, he entered the English Parliament, and was nominated one of the Lords of the Treasury. In 1797, he was appointed governor-general of India, and proceeding to that wonderful country, he displayed high administrative talent, promptness of action, and strength of will in the work of government. He defeated Tippu Sahib, annexed his territories, and also won victories over the Mahrattas at Assaye and Lassawari. The Marquis of Wellesley resigned the governor-generalship of India in 1805, and was appointed ambassador to the court of Madrid. He was later secretary of state for foreign affairs and lord lieutenant of Ireland.

The Wellesleys.

Duke of Wellington.

Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, third son of the Earl of Mornington, and younger brother of the Marquis of Wellesley, was born either at Dangan Castle, in Meath, or in Dublin, in 1769. He entered the army in 1787, and six years later represented Trim in the Dublin Parliament. In 1797, he went to India with the rank of colonel, arriving a few months before his elder brother. In 1799, he was made governor of Mysore, recently annexed to the British dominions. Returning to Europe, he was appointed chief secretary for Ireland in 1807, but events on the continent soon brought a change in his life, and his great opportunity for fame. In 1808, he was made lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief of the forces in the Peninsula. From that time until his final victory over Napoleon at Waterloo, in 1815, his life is a part of European history. He was prime minister of England for the three years following 1827, and therefore at the time when Catholic emancipation was finally gained for Ireland. He died in 1852.

ARTHUR WELLESLEY, DUKE OF WELLINGTON
1769–1852

Earl of Moira.

Sir Francis Rawdon-Hastings, second Earl of Moira, in County Down, was born in 1754. Entering the army in 1771, he rose to the rank of brigadier-general in the American revolutionary war. In 1794, he was sent with ten thousand men to join the Duke of York's ill-fated expedition to Holland. In 1813, he was appointed governor-general of India, where he carried on successful wars against the Nepalese and Pindaris. He was head of the government in India for ten years, and was then appointed governor of Malta. He was created Marquis of Hastings, and died shortly after on board the Revenge in Baia Bay, near Naples.

Earl of Mayo.

Richard Southwell Bourke, Earl of Mayo, was born in 1822. He was descended from William de Burgo, who succeeded Strongbow as lord lieutenant of Ireland in 1177. The Earl of Mayo, who had served for some time as chief secretary for Ireland, was appointed governor-general of India in 1868. After four years in this high office, he was assassinated while on a tour of inspection through the penal settlement in the Andaman Islands. He was buried at Johnstown in County Kildare.

Marquis of Dufferin and Ava.

Frederick Temple Hamilton Blackwood, afterwards Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, a title which links County Down with the kingdom of Burma, was born in 1826. He first distinguished himself as British commissioner in Syria, in 1860. Twelve years later he became governor-general of Canada, where he served for six years. He was ambassador at St. Petersburg and Constantinople, and in 1884 was appointed governor-general of India, where he served until 1888, adding the kingdom of Burma to the British crown.

In the century which followed the appointment of the Marquis of Wellesley, India was governed for more than twenty-six years by four distinguished Irishmen. During the same period, the armies in India were under the supreme command of a number of remarkable Irish soldiers. The Earl of Moira was the first of these, holding the position of commander-in-chief, as well as that of governor-general.

FREDERICK, LORD ROBERTS

General Sir Hugh Gough, born at Limerick in 1779, aided in the capture of the Cape of Good Hope, and fought under the Duke of Wellington in the Peninsular war. General Gough afterward served in India and China, and in 1842 was appointed commander-in-chief of the British forces in India. He commanded in the last Mahratta war. He defeated the Sikhs at Sobraon, and later at Gujarat. He was raised to the peerage as Viscount Gough and made field-marshal. He died in 1869.

Lord Roberts.

Frederick, Lord Roberts, descended from an old Waterford family, was born in 1831. He fought through the Indian Mutiny of 1857, and took part in the relief of Lucknow. He served in the Abyssinian campaign of 1868, and marched to Cabul in 1879, gaining the title of Lord Roberts of Kandahar for his services in the Afghan war. He was commander-in-chief of the Indian army from 1885 to 1893, and afterwards commander-in-chief of the British army, and field-marshal. It may be questioned whether his services in South Africa added greatly to his fame, though they gained him an earldom.

Sir George White.

General Sir George White was born at Whitehall, County Antrim, in 1855. He served through the Indian Mutiny and the Afghan war, and also in the expeditions to the Soudan and Burma. He was commander-in-chief of the Indian army from 1893 to 1897, in succession to Lord Roberts. Later, Sir George White became widely known as the defender of Ladysmith.

Viscount Wolseley.

Sir Garnet, afterwards Viscount Wolseley, was born in Dublin, in 1833. He entered the army in 1852, and served in Burma, in the Crimea, and in the Indian Mutiny. He gained high distinction in the Ashantee war of 1873, and showed that he possessed the highest military qualities in the Egyptian campaign of 1882. He was appointed commander-in-chief of the British army in 1895, and held this position for five years.

Other famous Irishmen.

These are a few only of the distinguished Irishmen who helped to build up the British Empire. Numberless others filled posts less conspicuous than those of viceroy of India, or commander-in-chief of the British army. Many more were and are eminent in the diplomatic service. Others, like Lord Russell of Killowen, lord chief justice of England, rose to the highest rank in the profession of law. Some, like Sir Arthur Sullivan, gained world-wide distinction for musical culture and inspiration. But to enumerate even the names of these would be impossible here. We have, however, brought forward names enough to show that, while Ireland is, in size and population, one of the smallest of nations, her sons hold a position of eminence in every field of human endeavor, quite out of proportion to the size of their country and the numbers of its population. This is exceptionally evident in the great Indian Empire, to which province after province has been added by Irish valor, to be ruled by Irish genius.

347. The Irish in Canada. By no means all the Irish who emigrated to the New World found homes in the United States. Mexico, Central America, and South America received their share of the exiles as well. But a far greater number of Irishmen came to Canada, where we find them recorded among the earliest pioneers of the country. While most of the great northern region was in the hands of the French, the Irish were among the first to penetrate the wilderness, and clear the land for farming. But after the victory of Wolfe over Montcalm, in 1763, when the English became masters of the whole country, the Irish settlers did more towards laying the firm foundation of the present Canada, forming her constitution, and building up for her a state of prosperity, than did the settlers of all other nationalities combined. Were we to attempt to tell adequately the story of the Irishman in Canada, we should have to write a book as large, if not larger than the present volume. It must suffice if we mention several of the most famous names in each stage of the country's development.

Colonel Guy Carleton.

Colonel Guy Carleton may be regarded as the founder and savior of Canada. He was a native of County Tyrone, had served some time under the English flag on the continent, was with Wolfe at the siege of Montreal, and in 1767 was rewarded for distinguished services by being made lieutenant-governor of Quebec. Carleton's policy was one of conciliation towards the French Canadians, who were far more numerous than the English settlers. He did all in his power to redress their grievances, not only because he loved right for right's sake, but because he was wise enough to secure their sympathy for England in view of the approaching troubles with the American colonies. Later, in 1787, Carleton, who had been made Lord Dorchester, became the first Irish governor-general of Canada.

Colonel Talbot.

Colonel the Hon. Thomas Talbot, founder of the famous Talbot Settlement, was born in County Dublin, in 1771. After several years of military service on both continents, this aristocratic pioneer determined to found a colony in Canada, and with that end in view landed on May 21, 1803, in the midst of the wilderness, at a place later called Port Talbot. He had made an arrangement with the government that for every settler placed on fifty acres of land, he was entitled to two hundred acres, until five thousand acres were reached. This colony grew rapidly. For over fifty years Colonel Talbot superintended its development himself. A census taken by him in 1831 reports the population of his settlement to have been upwards of 40,000 people inhabiting 518,000 acres of land, comprising a district now covered by twenty-nine townships. In his group of rough log buildings known as the Castle of Malahide, at Port Talbot, the colonel used to entertain the most distinguished men, not only of Canada, but of the whole of Europe.

The Irish were among the first to settle in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. In the war of 1812, between England and the United States, we must mention for their bravery and great services, Colonel Brock and Lieutenant Fitzgibbon. During the Irish immigration from 1815 to 1837, and in the years following we find the Blakes in London, Ontario, and in the vicinity of Toronto; in Montreal, "Tom" White, the owner of several newspapers and an upright politician, as was also Mr. Sidney Robert Bellingham. In Victoria County, the McHughs head a long list of prominent Irish names; in Kingston, the O'Reillys. Every county in Canada boasts several famous Irish families, too many to enumerate here. During the struggle for responsible representative government, which was gained in the first parliament of United Canada in 1841, we find the names of Gourlay, Mackenzie, the Baldwins, Robert Baldwin Sullivan, and Sir Francis Hincks, all prominent. The years from 1825 to 1854 are known in Canadian politics as the Irish period, for during that time there was scarcely a statesman of any prominence who was not of Irish birth or extraction. With the fall of Hincks this period came to a close, but the force and influence of the Irishmen continued, and still continue to be felt in religious and educational matters, and in every line of occupation.

Other Irish Canadians.

Although the Irish political period in Canada closed in 1854, all Irishmen did not retire from politics. Immediately after, in 1856, Mr. John A. MacDonald was real premier under the administration of M. Taché, and John Sheridan Hogan and Thomas D'Arcy McGee were prominent members of parliament. McGee died a martyr to Canada, for whose good he had striven; he was shot by a fellow countryman. In a speech delivered in the House of Commons, Sir John A. MacDonald said of him: "He who last night, nay, this morning, was with us, whose voice is still ringing in our ears, who charmed us with his marvellous eloquence, elevated us by his large statesmanship, and instructed us by his wisdom, his patriotism, is no more — is foully murdered. If ever a soldier who fell on the field of battle deserved well of his country, Thomas D'Arcy McGee deserved well of Canada and its people."

Lord Monck was governor from 1861 to 1868, and four years later, in 1872, Canada received its greatest governor since the time of Carleton, namely the Earl of Dufferin, later the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, a native of County Down. (See p. 362.)

348. The Irish in Australia. Among the Irishmen who emigrated to Australia, or were prominent in the government there, two names stand out above all the rest: Charles Gavan Duffy, who has since been knighted, and Sir Redmond Barry. Duffy was one of the leaders of the Irish revolutionary movement of 1848, which ended in failure, and afterwards accepted an appointment from the crown in Australia, where he was for some years prime minister of Victoria. Sir Redmond Barry, famous as a lawyer and statesman, was solicitor-general for the colony of Victoria prior to 1851, when he became a judge of the Supreme Court. He was a native of County Cork, was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and was looked upon as a man of great learning and broad-minded views. He is also well known for the interest he took in educational matters, and has left some famous inaugural addresses delivered when he was chancellor of the New University of Melbourne. The Earl of Belmore, formerly governor and commander-in-chief of New South Wales, belongs to a distinguished Fermanagh family. Names like O'Sullivan, O'Connor, O'Connell, Leahy, and Madden are conspicuous in the government of Australia to-day.

349. Other representative Irishmen of the British Empire. The Beresfords of Waterford are prominent in the British navy. Sir Cornelius Moloney was recently governor and commander-in-chief of British Honduras. Sir Jacob Barry was judge-president in Cape Colony. Sir George O'Rorke of Galway was for a generation eminent in the government of New Zealand. John Tyndall, the great physicist, was born in Carlow. Lord Kelvin, formerly Sir William Thomson, the famous electrical specialist, belongs to the north of Ireland. Sir William McCormac, one of the greatest modern surgeons, was born in Belfast.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE IRISH LITERARY REVIVAL

350. Irish writers in the eighteenth century. We have already spoken of the part played in Irish politics by Jonathan Swift (1667–1745). Swift was born in Dublin, and it is very probable that we can trace the influences which surrounded him in childhood in his most famous work, "Gulliver's Travels." Among the entertainments of the Irish bards, voyages to wonderful undiscovered countries, inhabited by strange people, have been popular since the days of Ossin, and even centuries before Ossin journeyed to the "Land of the Young." It is very probable that Swift may have heard some of these stories in his early years, and that the captivity of Gulliver among the Lilliputians may have been suggested by the capture of the son of Find and his detention in the cavern near Killarney. There is certainly a genuine Irish spirit in the mirth and wit and humor which have given "Gulliver's Travels" a place in universal literature.

Swift.

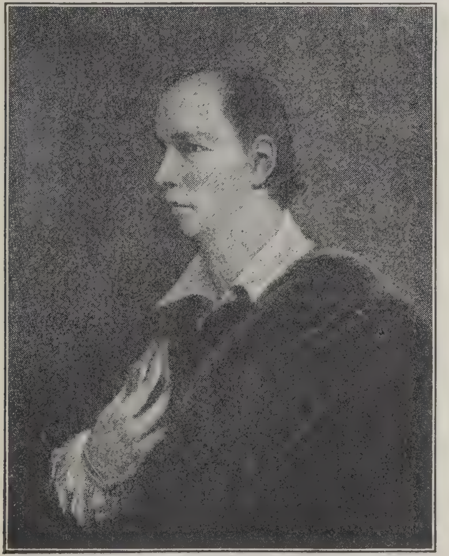
Laurence Sterne (1713–1768) undoubtedly owed much of the color and a good deal of the whimsical humor of his works to his life in Ireland. Born at Clonmel, the son of a soldier, the first years of his life were spent in wanderings from one garrison town to another, and in these wanderings he gathered the material for characters like Uncle Toby and Corporal Trim.

Sterne.

Oliver Goldsmith (1728–1774) was born in County

Goldsmith.

Longford. One of his teachers was an old quartermaster, who, besides reading, writing, and arithmetic, gave the boy a complete course of instruction concerning ghosts, banshees, and fairies. This teacher spoke Irish, and even extemporized Irish verse. Goldsmith also devoted himself to the study of Irish music, and was a passionate admirer of Carolan, the harper, one of the last great bards. Hence it comes that there is far more real Irish tenderness and sentiment in his works than in those of the two writers just noticed. There is a genuinely Irish note of lament and feeling for nature in "The Deserted Village": —



OLIVER GOLDSMITH
1728–1774

"No more thy glassy brook reflects the day,
But, chok'd with sedges, works its weedy way;

> Along thy glades, a solitary guest,
> The hollow-sounding bittern guards its nest;
> Amidst thy desert-walks the lapwing flies,
> And tires their echoes with unvaried cries.
> Sunk are thy bowers in shapeless ruin all,
> And the long grass o'ertops the mouldering wall;
> And, trembling, shrinking from the spoiler's hand,
> Far, far away thy children leave the land."

There is a note of humor of which Goldsmith himself was hardly conscious, in his description of America, whither these exiled children were bound: —

> "Where at each step the stranger fears to wake
> The rattling terrors of the vengeful snake;
> Where crouching tigers wait their hapless prey,
> And savage men more murderous still than they;
> While oft in whirls the mad tornado flies,
> Mingling the ravag'd landscape with the skies."

Burke.

Edmund Burke (1729–1797) has a deeper and more universal value than any of these writers, and is one of the greatest names in modern literature. He is one of the few writers who invariably bring every subject back to universal principles, and this is nowhere more evident than in his "Speech on Conciliation with the American Colonies," when he came forward on March 22, 1775, to speak in the English House of Commons on behalf of American liberty: "The proposition is peace. Not peace through the medium of war; not peace to be hunted through the labyrinth of intricate and endless negotiations; not peace to arise out of universal discord fomented, from principle, in all parts of the empire; not peace to depend on the juridical determination of perplexing questions, or the precise marking the shadowy boundaries of a complex government. It is simple peace, sought in its natural course, and in its ordinary haunts. It is peace

His plea for America.

sought in the spirit of peace, and laid in principles purely pacific."

In contrast with Oliver Goldsmith's somewhat fanciful picture of America as haunted by tigers and wild men, is Burke's sound and accurate knowledge of the American colonies, their history, and constitutions, and his clear vision of their mighty future: "If you drive the people from one place, they will carry on their annual tillage and remove with their flocks and herds to another. Many of the people in the back settlements are already little attached to particular situations. Already they have topped the Appalachian Mountains. From thence they behold before them an immense plain — one vast rich level meadow, a square of five hundred miles. Over this they would wander without possibility of restraint; they would change their manners with the habits of their life; would soon forget a government by which they were disowned; would become hordes of English Tartars, and, pouring down upon your unfortified frontiers a fierce and irresistible cavalry, become masters of your governors and your counsellors, your collectors and your comptrollers, and all of the slaves that adhered to them." This great Irishman was the first man in Europe to foresee the marvellous future growth and power of the United States.

Sheridan.

Richard Brinsley Sheridan (1751–1816) was another Irishman who won a high place in English literature. His two greatest achievements were an eloquent speech in favor of the impeachment of Warren Hastings for misgovernment in India, and a series of comedies of which "The Rivals" and "The School for Scandal" are the best known. It is worth remembering that the plays of two Irishmen, Goldsmith and Sheridan, were the only dramas of high literary value written, during nearly a century and a half, for the English stage: not merely good acting plays, but fine pieces of literature.

351. Nineteenth century authors. Thomas Moore (1779–1852) was the first writer who consciously sought inspiration in the history, traditions, and romance of Ireland. It may almost be said of him that he alone of all those who have been mentioned was consciously an Irishman. He is, therefore, the morning star of the Irish literary revival. Moore chose as the subject of his most famous "Irish Melodies" historical events like the battle of Clontarf, the life of Saint Senanus, the traditions of Conn of the Hundred Battles, the achievements of the Red Branch Knights, the Hermitage of St. Kevin, and the Revenge for the Death of Deirdré. The quality of Moore's verse is well represented in the "Song of Fionnuala":—

THOMAS MOORE
1779–1852

"Silent, O Moyle, be the roar of thy water,
Break not, ye breezes, your chain of repose,
While, murmuring mournfully, Lir's lonely daughter
Tells to the night star her tale of woes."

Moore was not only a writer of musical verse, but also a musician whose memory was filled with the traditional melodies of the Irish harpers and bards. To these melodies he adapted his songs, and sang them himself with eloquence and power. He was a favorite figure in London society, and it may be said of him that he was the first to make the Irish spirit and the Irish temperament in any way intelligible to the English mind.

Ferguson.

Sir Samuel Ferguson (1810–1886) is the most considerable figure in the period which divides Moore from the living Irish poets. His knowledge was far more profound and universal than Moore's. He was thoroughly familiar with the Gaelic traditions from the Book of Leinster down to modern times. His verse is more full of vigor, and he has taken more substantial themes. Among the best of these is "The Tain Quest." He tells how —

"Great Cuchullin's name and glory filled the land from north to south,
Deirdré's and Clan Usnach's story rife I found in every mouth;
Yea, and where the whitening surges spread below the Herdsman's Hill
Echoes of the shout of Fergus haunted all Glen Etive still."

The poet tells us how the most famous tradition of all, the Tain Quest, was lost, and how the antique bard finally recovered the story of the Tain by evoking the spirit of Fergus, who had taken part in the quest. An impressive stanza tells how the spirit of the great dead warrior entered the banquet hall : —

"Heard ye not the tramp of armies? Hark! amid the sudden gloom
'T was the stroke of Conall's war-mace sounded through the startled room;
And, while still the hall grew darker, King and courtier chilled with dread,
Heard the rattling of the war-car of Cuchullin overhead."

Just as the ancient bard evoked the spirit of Fergus, son of Roeg, so Sir Samuel Ferguson evoked the historic traditions of Ireland and made them live again in forceful and virile verse.

Yeats.

William Butler Yeats (1866) is the most widely known writer of the Irish literary revival, and the writer whose style has reached the highest level of excellence and distinction. If Sir Samuel Ferguson's work, in its heroic vigor and force, resembles the rugged traditions of the Red Branch of Concobar and Cuculaind, then we may say that the work of W. B. Yeats revives the fineness and distinction, the magic and music of Ossin, the son of Find; and there was a certain fitness in his choice of the warrior poet as the theme of his first considerable work of Irish inspiration, the "Wanderings of Oisin." He makes the warrior poet speak thus: —

> "Caolte, and Conan, and Finn were there,
> When we followed a deer with our baying hounds,
> With Bran, Sgeolan, and Lomair,
> And passing the Firbolgs' burial mounds,
> Came to the cairn-heaped grassy hill
> Where passionate Maive is stony still;
> And found on the dove-gray edge of the sea
> A pearl-pale, high-born lady, who rode
> On a horse with bridle of findrinny;
> And like a sunset were her lips,
> A stormy sunset on doomed ships;
> A citron colour gloomed in her hair,
> But down to her feet white vesture flowed,
> And with the glimmering crimson glowed
> Of many a figured embroidery;
> And it was bound with a pearl-pale shell
> That wavered like the summer streams,
> As her soft bosom rose and fell."

There is a finer and more subtle music here than in the verse of Sir Samuel Ferguson, or the melodies of

Thomas Moore. There is, perhaps, less of ruggedness and heroic force than in the verses, "The Tain Quest." The distinctive quality of the work of Yeats seems to be this: he has carried on and perfected the modern sense of the music of words, which was first introduced into English poetry by Shelley, and after Shelley was developed by Rossetti and Swinburne. There is much that reminds us of all these poets in the work of Yeats, who is, in a sense, their heir. From them also he has inherited a certain unworldly, ghost-like, or mystical atmosphere which, to be perfectly strict, is rather pre-Raphaelite than Ossianic. This ghost-like atmosphere is well exemplified in the following lines from "The Land of Heart's Desire."

"The wind blows out of the gates of the day,
  The wind blows over the lonely of heart,
And the lonely of heart is withered away,
  While the faeries dance in a place apart,
Shaking their milk-white feet in a ring,
  Tossing their milk-white arms in the air;
For they hear the wind laugh and murmur and sing
  Of a land where even the old are fair,
And even the wise are merry of tongue;
  But I heard a reed of Coolaney say,
When the wind has laughed and murmured and sung,
  'The lonely of heart must wither away.'"

Russell.

George Russell (1867) reaches a higher and more spiritual inspiration than any other poet of the Irish literary revival. He sees the world only as a manifestation of spirit, and everything he writes is full of this sense of revelation. He uses pure and transparent colors like the colors of gems, and never paints nature from mere delight in sensuous beauty. It was the same impersonal sense which led him to conceal the authorship of his "Homeward, Songs by the Way," under the initial Æ, which is for him the symbol of an Æon, or creative breath. In all the poems in this book he regards life as a path, by which the soul finds its way homeward: —

"Blind and dense with revelation every moment flies,
And unto the Mighty Mother, gay, eternal, rise
All the hopes we hold, the gladness, dreams of things to be.
One of all thy generations, Mother, hails to thee!
Hail! and hail! and hail forever: though I turn again
From thy joy unto the human vestiture of pain.
I, thy child, who went forth radiant in the golden prime
Find thee still the mother-hearted through my night in time;
Find in thee the old enchantment, there behind the veil
Where the Gods my brothers linger, Hail! forever, Hail!"

John O'Leary.

It is giving honor where honor is due, to record the fact that the two eloquent writers last mentioned owe much of the Irish inspiration in their verse to the influence of John O'Leary, who was the central figure in the literary society of Dublin when they began to write. To the same circle belonged a number of other writers of sterling worth, like Katherine Tynan, Rosa Mulholland, Dora Sigerson, T. W. Rolleston, and George Sigerson. These writers taken together form a school of verse which is one of the chief glories of the Irish literary revival.

352. The revival of Gaelic. Perhaps even more significant than this rich harvest in contemporary verse is the study of Gaelic, which has resulted in the production of many admirable texts and translations, and in a considerable extension of Gaelic as a spoken tongue. The most remarkable single work so far produced is O'Donovan's splendid edition and translation of the "Annals of the Four Masters." Next come facsimiles of ancient texts like "The Book of Leinster," edited for the Royal Irish Academy by Dr. Atkinson. Due recognition should be given to the work of continental scholars like Zeuss, Zimmer, and D'Arbois de Jubainville. Among contemporary scholars special credit is due to Drs. Whitley Stokes, Joyce, and Douglas Hyde. Besides his more learned works, Douglas Hyde has written much musical verse. He is at his best in the translations from Saint Columba: —

Douglas Hyde.

> "Alas for the voyage, O high King of Heaven
> Enjoined upon me,
> For that I on the red plain of bloody Cooldrevin
> Was present to see.
> How happy the son is of Dima; no sorrow
> For him is designed,
> He is having, this hour, round his own hill in Durrow,
> The wish of his mind.
> The sounds of the winds in the elms, like the strings of
> A harp being played,
> The note of the blackbird that claps with the wings of
> Delight in the glade."

Side by side with this literary and linguistic revival has come an awakening interest in every department of Irish tradition, art, and archæology, the details of which are far too numerous to be mentioned here. This is only the beginning of a complete revelation to the world of the spirit of the Irish race.

.CHAPTER XXXV

HOME RULE AND THE IRISH FREE STATE

353. The rise of Sinn Fein. The period which followed the events recorded in Chapter XXX opened with good omens. In the summer of 1907, King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra visited Dublin, where they were received with enthusiasm by all parties. The Nationalists professed to be acquainted with the King's sympathies and they saw in his arrival an implied promise of a measure of Home Rule. His Majesty, by both speech and demeanor, seemed to entertain high hopes. Yet nothing came of the Royal visit, and English statesmen omitted to draw any moral from the demonstrations of loyalty with which the King and Queen were greeted. On the contrary, the King was rebuked in some quarters on his return to England for having tended to exceed the limitations imposed upon a constitutional monarch.

Meanwhile a new portent appeared. The Sinn Fein movement, which was started in 1904 and was inspired by the Hungarian example of 1867, began to make headway, although it was still regarded with political contempt, even by the Nationalist Party whose *débâcle* it was ultimately to produce at the polls. The time was opportune for an active propaganda. Disappointment and distrust were once more rankling in the hearts of the people in two thirds of Ireland. The operation of the Land Purchase Acts was hampered by financial difficulties, and discontent led to an increase in emigration. People who wearied with eating the air, promise-crammed, turned with ardor to Sinn Fein, though its policy was still tentative, diffusive, and it was without the semblance of a practical program.

354. The Home Rule Bill of 1912 and Ulster opposition. Edward VII died in May, 1910. His death was felt to be a loss to Ireland, for both there and in the United States he was known to be a broad-minded, tactful sovereign who might in time have influenced the fate of a people to whom he had made himself gracious. John Redmond publicly deplored the death of Edward, whom he described as "a frank, manly, and friendly sovereign." That expression of bereavement and the remembrance of His Majesty's reception in Ireland may have suggested the visit of George V with the Queen, the Prince of Wales, and the Princess Mary a little more than twelve months afterwards. The Royal Party attended the horse-races in Phœnix Park and at Leopardstown, and, it was thought, afterwards gave the *coup de grâce* to a dying bigotry on the other side of the Channel, by visiting Maynooth College, where they were received by the Cardinal Primate and the Archbishop of Dublin. However, regal good-will and popular gratitude — to a large extent a sense of favors to come — were but "the torrent's smoothness ere it dash below." England felt herself forced again to consider a settlement of the Irish question.

In 1912 a Home Rule Bill was introduced in the House of Commons, and Orange Ulster threatened that if it ever became law its operation would be resisted by violent means. A National Convention was summoned in Dublin, and, contrary to English prophecies, it accepted the measure. The refusal of fiscal autonomy in the Bill was keenly resented by the masses of the Nationalists, notwithstanding the official attitude of acquiescence on the part of their leaders, who it is probable would not have succeeded long in keeping their followers together. From the outset the Unionists offered an uncompromising opposition, which resulted in the signing of the "Ulster Covenant" by 218,000 persons amid menacing scenes of Orange enthusiasm. The signatories to that document swore to "rely on God" and at the same time to use "all means which may be found necessary to defeat the present conspiracy." By September, 1913, Sir Edward Carson had been permitted to defy the law by raising in Ulster an army of volunteers which it was boasted was four times the size of that which in another September, more than two centuries and a half earlier, Oliver Cromwell had at his disposal after the battle of Worcester. This was, no doubt, an exaggeration, but it is certain that as the months passed the armed volunteers numbered 85,000. The British Government made no move to uphold the law, though it was known that 4000 rifles and 20,000 revolvers or pistols had been sent to Ireland from Birmingham and from Germany. A general staff and an advisory board were appointed with headquarters in Belfast. A commander-in-chief was chosen — General Sir George Richardson, who had seen active service in the British Army. Impunity begat courage and even audacity in the Orange ranks, and on March 13, 1914, Sir Edward Carson announced that preparations were being made to land further supplies of arms. Ere this announcement had been made, a Norwegian vessel, the Fanny, with two members of the Ulster Council on board, had left a Scottish port. By the close of the month the Fanny was reported from Berlin to be shipping rifles from a lighter which had been towed from Hamburg to the Danish coast. It was put abroad that these arms were destined for Mexico and Venezuela. On the night of April 24th a vessel, which bore the name of Mountidy, but which was believed to be the Fanny, landed 35,000 rifles and 3,000,000 pounds of ammunition at Larne. These were distributed throughout Unionist Ulster in motor-cars. The same ship transferred to another vessel about 10,000 rifles with ammunition, which were put ashore on the coast of Down.

355. **The Irish Volunteers in armed resistance.** The counter-move to these incidents was the raising of a volunteer force by the other side, for it was naturally said that, if one political party was suffered by the British Government to break the law in Ireland, an equal impunity should be allowed to their antagonists. In this way the Irish Volunteers came into being under the command of Captain White, D.S.O., and Sir Roger Casement. "Things bad begun make strong themselves by ill." The pusillanimity which either countenanced or ignored unlawfulness in the North gave rise to a serious situation. General Gough, commanding the Third Cavalry Brigade at the Curragh, suddenly declared that he and his men would refuse to obey the orders of the British Government if they were ordered to serve against Ulster. It was clear that matters had gone so far that at any moment the Administration might feel bound to retrieve its mistake and, in doing so, to call upon the military to vindicate the law and to repress treason in the Northern Province. A so-called conspiracy in the Cabinet for the coercion of Ulster was exploited to the uttermost. There were wild stories that there was a plot to destroy the organized opposition to constitutional government which had been built up by Sir Edward Carson and his Orange colleagues. In the House of Commons, Colonel Seely, then Minister of War, tried to explain that the military measures contemplated were designed merely to counteract any efforts which might be made by hot-headed persons to make raids for arms, thereby insinuating that the con-

duct of the Orangemen was more than likely to provoke retaliatory action. General Gough was summoned to London, and it was announced soon afterwards that he would obey all "lawful" commands. In this the Nationalists saw a quibble, and their followers, against whom British troops had often been used without demur, became furious.

On Sunday morning, July 26, about 1000 National Volunteers assembled on the road from Dublin to Howth and set out upon what was believed to be a route march. They reached Howth at midday and marched to the pier, where a white yacht had just come alongside. From this yacht 2500 rifles and 125,000 pounds of ammunition were unloaded and distributed. The Volunteers were met on their way back to Dublin by British troops, and a scuffle ensued. Some of the Volunteers were disarmed, but many more got off with their rifles and cartridges. Later, the troops were stoned in Bachelors' Walk, Dublin, and some of them fired on the crowd without orders, killing three persons. On the following day the incident was mentioned in the House of Commons, and Mr. Devlin elicited the reply that on the previous Saturday 5000 men with some machine guns had marched through the streets of Belfast without interference.

356. The World War and Sir Roger Casement's execution for treason. At this moment the war storm was gathering in Europe, and, as the situation became critical, the Home Rule Act Amending Bill was postponed. That measure made provision for the exclusion for six years from the operation of the Home Rule Act of 1914 of as many Ulster counties as should declare by a ballot majority for partition. Then the great conflict of nations broke out, and, as a part of a political truce, an Act was passed to suspend the operation of the Home Rule Act.

That step, although agreed to by the Nationalist members, fanned the flame of distrust in the greater part of Ireland, and served, no doubt, to weaken the effort which was made by the Nationalists to persuade their followers to join the colors in order to help Great Britain in her avowed struggle for the protection of small nations. Enlistment was vehemently opposed by the Sinn Feiners, by some of the original promoters of the Volunteer movement, and by the Irish Labor Party. Meanwhile, Sir Roger Casement, who had been knighted for the exposure of the Putamayo atrocities, had gone to Berlin by way of the United States, after having attempted to dissuade Irishmen from entering the British Army. Enlistment in Ireland was further discouraged by the refusal of the War Office to allow the presentation of colors worked in silk by Irish women to southern Irish regiments.

In the early part of 1916 the Sinn Fein movement showed signs of bettering the revolutionary example of Ulster. The Sinn Fein Volunteers were busy recruiting for their forces, and they succeeded in drawing numbers away from the National Volunteers, who had received the political blessing of the Nationalist Party. An attempt was made on Good Friday, April 23d, to land arms on the west coast of Ireland from a vessel which was accompanied by a German submarine. The vessel was sunk, and Sir Roger Casement, who had landed in a collapsible boat, was arrested, and, after a "full dress" trial for high treason in London, was sentenced to death and executed. The Crown was represented at the trial by the Attorney-General, Sir F. E. Smith, who had arrested Sir Edward Carson in his anti-Home Rule campaign in Ulster and who afterwards became Lord Chancellor of England with the title of Lord Birkenhead.

357. The Easter Rebellion of 1916. The arrest of

Casement precipitated the military plans of the Sinn Fein Volunteers. They had organized Easter maneuvers, but these were cancelled on April 24th. A republic was proclaimed on Easter Monday, and when British troops were hurriedly brought to Dublin from the Curragh, the rebels were found to be in possession of the Post-Office, the Four Courts, a part of Stephen's Green, a large factory on the quays, and several houses in Sackville Street. The military authorities at once declared martial law. A gunboat was brought up the Liffey, and shells were fired into the strongholds of the rebels. The Post-Office was set on fire, and 180 buildings in the city were reduced to ruins. By April 26th Liberty Hall, the headquarters of the citizen forces, had been partly demolished and was occupied by the British troops. The value of the buildings destroyed was about £2,000,000. There had been a good deal of street fighting, but on May 2d the leaders of the rebellion were brought to surrender, and the signatories of the Proclamation of a republic, including P. H. Pearse, Provisional President; James Connolly, Commandant General in the Dublin Area; T. J. Clarke; Thomas MacDonagh, the poet, and others — fourteen in all — were tried by court martial and were shot. The disorders were not confined to the capital. About 3000 persons were arrested in the South and West of Ireland and were deported to England for internment. During the whole rising the casualties on the Government side were 421, including 124 killed.

The immediate political result was the resignation of the Chief Secretary, Mr. Birrell; the Under-Secretary, Sir Matthew Nathan, and, eventually, the Viceroy, Lord Wimborne. The acts done under martial law aroused resentment among the Nationalists, and, after the shooting of Mr. Sheehey Skeffington, a Dublin journalist, who was in no way associated with the rebellion, by order of an officer who was afterwards found to be insane, the British Government resolved upon an inquiry. The vacancies in the Irish Executive were not filled. Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister, himself visited Ireland and returned with the verdict that "castle government had entirely broken down." Mr. Lloyd George was then commissioned to see whether some form of settlement could be reached. On July 10th Mr. Asquith announced the proposals of the Government in the House of Commons. They were designed to make changes in the Home Rule Act on the basis of the partition of Ireland, with the reservation to the Imperial Parliament of full powers over the Army and the Judicature. These proposals were branded by Mr. Redmond as "an insult" and they were dropped.

358. A Constitutional Convention. In May, 1917, when Mr. Lloyd George had become Prime Minister, it was stated that the Government had resolved at once to summon a convention of representative Irishmen to consider a suitable constitution for Ireland. All parties were invited to take part in the deliberations of the convention. The proposal was favorably received, and the Government, seeking to create a pacific atmosphere, declared a general and unreserved amnesty of all those who were incarcerated for association with the Easter Rebellion. The released prisoners were received in Ireland with great rejoicings which led to some violence, and it became clear that, after further conflicts with the military, the Sinn Fein Party would reject an invitation to send delegates to the convention.

While the arrangements for the constitution of the secretariat and the procedure of the convention were still under discussion, Mr. De Valera, a Sinn Fein candidate, won the East Clare election by a great majority, and then, for the first time, those who were not fanatical in the Nationalist Party realized that their political doom had been pronounced. The Irish Convention, under the presidency of Sir Horace Plunkett, met on July 25th in the Regent House, Trinity College, which had been lent by the Provost (Dr. Mahaffy). In spite of the recusant attitude of Sinn Fein, hopes of a settlement ran high and, indeed, appeared to be justifiable beyond any precedent in Irish history. After long and amicable sessions the convention was thought to be on the brink of success. But once again, the words of Edmund Spenser came true: "Marry, there have been divers good plots devised and wise counsels cast already, about the reformation of that realm; but they say it is the fatal destiny of that land that no purposes whatsoever which are meant for her good will prosper and take good effect."

Provisional agreement was reached on every vital issue, with the exception of the old stumbling-block — the fiscal powers to be exercised by the Irish Parliament. The members consented to the creation of an Irish Senate and an Irish House of Commons. John Redmond stated that he looked upon the results arrived at by October as equivalent to a final settlement. But at that bright hour a shadow fell upon the scene. It was announced that two of the Ulster delegates, Lord Londonderry and Mr. Barrie, had not been given unreservedly the authority to exercise their own judgment and discretion. Accordingly they returned to Belfast to lay the terms of the agreement before the Ulster Advisory Council — a body which was removed from the sympathies which had grown up in the convention itself. Under the pretext that the principle of the nomination of Ulster members to the Lower House was undemocratic, they wrecked the entire scheme. Further efforts to achieve a settlement were predoomed to failure, especially when John Redmond and many others protested that, had they foreseen that the proposals made were to be submitted to men who had not taken part in the convention, they would never have consented to enter it at all.

Although the convention reported by a majority, the Government did not think that the result represented a "substantial agreement," and the Cabinet was left to frame proposals, with such guidance as could be obtained from the deliberations in Dublin.

The scheme of self-government which met with the approval of the majority of the convention provided for the establishment of an Irish Parliament and Executive with full powers over internal legislation and over direct taxation. Forty-two Irish members were to be retained in the Imperial Parliament. The Irish House of Commons was to comprise two hundred members with a guaranteed forty per cent of Unionists, some of them nominated. A Senate of sixty-four members was to be created by allotting representatives to different interests. The control of the customs and excise was to remain as an outstanding issue.

359. Threat of conscription produces indignation. At this time the heavy casualties of the Allied arms in France and Flanders made it incumbent on the British Government to apply conscription in England with extended age-limits, and the measure made it possible to extend the law to Ireland by Order of the King in Council. This produced intense indignation in the greater part of the population of Ireland, and all discussion of self-government schemes was abandoned. As Mr. Asquith predicted in the House of Commons, the feeling aroused by the threat of compulsory military service in the British

Army added strength to the Sinn Fein movement. No Order in Council was ever made.

360. **Death of John Redmond and growth of Sinn Fein.** The death of John Redmond in March, 1918, was a blow to the Nationalists, who had stood forth throughout the sittings of the convention for a conciliatory policy, and who, it might be said, had entirely failed to understand the strength of the influences which were opposing them in Ireland. In May, Lord French, who had succeeded Lord Wimborne as Viceroy, published a proclamation that the Government of Ireland had discovered that certain sections of the Irish people had entered into treasonable communications with Germany. At the same time he made an appeal for the voluntary enlistment of Irishmen in His Majesty's forces. A considerable number of Sinn Feiners were arrested and were deported to England, though no charge was made against them and no evidence was produced to support the existence of the German plot. Soon afterwards the proposals for an Irish settlement were allowed to drop. In June it was definitely stated by Lord Curzon in the House of Commons that there was no intention to proceed with the Home Rule Bill.

The general election in December, 1918, brought about the overthrow of the Nationalist Party. Sinn Fein, standing for the independence of Ireland, won seventy-three seats, leaving the Nationalists, who had held seventy-seven, with only seven. Henceforth the sway of Sinn Fein became powerful. In spite of a policy of repression carried out by Lord French with "tanks," machine guns, bombing aeroplanes, barbed wire, and all the other implements of war which had been used in the struggle on the Continent, the guerrilla warfare conducted by Sinn Feiners was staged. The constabulary were provided with hand grenades in addition to their rifles and revolvers, and the police barracks were fortified. Even after the World War had ceased, the Defense of the Realm Acts and Regulations remained in force, and all the cherished liberties of the individual for which the English themselves had fought for centuries were deprived of the protection of the courts of law. Hundreds of men were cast into prison without being charged with any offense. Others were taken in warships to English jails because, so far as they knew, they were merely suspected of being Sinn Feiners or because they were elected under the British system of constitutional representation to be members either of the Imperial Parliament or of the municipal bodies in their own country. A campaign of assassination followed. Policemen were shot in all parts of the country and an attempt was made on the life of the Viceroy.

361. The Dail Eireann and the Cabinet committee. During this period Irish-American delegates visited the country and attended a meeting of the Irish Parliament self-constituted, under the name of the Dail Eireann. The delegates made a report on the condition of the country which, unhappily for them and for Ireland as a whole, was not marked by any ability to digest evidence with a judicial mind. Nevertheless, their report elicited a reply from the Irish Executives which had the same failings. In July, 1919, Sir Edward Carson again went to Belfast and again made threatening speeches which contained fresh warnings of armed resistance. In the autumn the English Administration took fright, and a Cabinet committee was appointed to draft a scheme of settlement. Throughout its sittings there could hardly be said to be anything but an inefficient military occupation of Ireland. The Sinn Feiners, who were at one time willing to accept Dominion self-government, naturally revolted against the constitution of the committee, composed as it was of

Mr. Walter Long, a former Unionist Chief Secretary; Lord Birkenhead, who had already come to the aid of Sir Edward Carson in his gun-running campaign; Mr. Fisher, President of the Board of Education; the Chief Secretary; Mr. Ian Macpherson, a young Scotsman who had never been to Ireland before; the Minister for Labor; and the Viceroy (Lord French), who was conducting coercive operations and proclaiming Sinn Fein as a conspiracy. In these circumstances the year closed with less prospect of a settlement of the Irish question than ever.

362. **Enactment of the Home Rule Bill.** Nor did 1920 bring rosier prospects. The Home Rule Bill, the provisions of which Lloyd George had explained late in December of the previous year, was utterly unsatisfactory to all groups of the Irish people. In substance the measure provided for two single-chambered Parliaments, one for Northern and one for Southern Ireland. It also provided for a Council, composed of the King and twenty members of each Parliament, chosen as each might determine and empowered to bring about harmonious action between the Parliaments and to administer services mutually agreed upon or mentioned in the Act itself. In lieu of the Council the two Parliaments, by identical acts, could establish a Parliament of either one or two houses for the whole of Ireland, the membership of this Parliament to be determined by the provincial Parliaments. In case such a Parliament were created the Act stipulated that it should enjoy the powers of the Council. The Bill further provided that each provincial Parliament within its area was to enjoy full power except in respect to peace and war, navy, army, and pensions, treaties with foreign nations and with the dominions, extradition, dignities or titles of honor, treason, naturalization of aliens, external trade, export bounties, cables, wireless, aerial navigation,

lighthouses, coinage, trademarks, and certain other matters reserved by the act. Neither Parliament could by law establish a religion or restrict the free exercise thereof.

The executive power and prerogative of the Crown were, by the measure, vested in the Lord-Lieutenant and were to be exercised through such departments as each provincial Parliament might establish. The Lord-Lieutenant was given power to appoint officers to administer the departments during his pleasure, and the provincial ministers were to form an executive committee of the Irish Privy Council and to advise the Lord-Lieutenant in the exercise of his powers. Parliaments were to have annual sessions and the House of Commons of Southern Ireland was to have 128 members, while that of Northern Ireland was to have 52.

Among numerous other provisions were those stipulating that the provincial Parliaments could not pass money bills except in pursuance of a recommendation from the Lord-Lieutenant; that the duration of each Parliament be five years, unless sooner dissolved, and that Ireland, for the time being, should have 42 members in the Imperial Parliament.

In debate, Mr. Asquith among others caustically criticized the measure, maintaining that the proposal to partition the island was costly, inexpedient, and wholly undesirable. He argued that it would be wiser to place Ireland on a Dominion status, but Mr. Bonar Law, speaking for the Government, warmly declared that Dominion Home Rule was equivalent to granting self-determination to the Irish and that, therefore, Mr. Asquith was evidently ready for an Irish Republic. Sir Edward Carson remained adamant, refusing outwardly at least either to favor or to oppose the bill, which was being much discussed and frequently amended. Finally, after having dragged on throughout the greater part of the year, the bill was enacted into law, receiving Royal assent on December 23d.

363. Revolutionary outbreaks, fighting, and assassinations. In the meantime conditions in Ireland were becoming steadily worse. The Sinn Feiners continued their activities, being greatly encouraged by large gains in the January municipal elections. Without a dissenting vote, for instance, Tom Kelly, who had spent two months in prison, was elected Lord Mayor of Dublin. Sinn Fein chairmen were chosen in a number of cities. Conscious of their strength, they unfurled the flag of the Irish Republic from the tower of the Municipal Building, next door to Dublin Castle, on January 30th. The effect on the British authorities was almost instantaneous, for on the next morning British troops arrested all Sinn Fein officials in Dublin, Limerick, Thurles, and elsewhere who, in the opinion of the authorities, had committed acts or expressed words of sedition or rebellion. The prisoners were hurried to England aboard British warships, and so tense was the situation that troops were massed to prevent a general uprising.

Matters were not improved when, on March 20th, Thomas MacCurtain, Mayor of Cork, was assassinated in his own house. At once a storm of accusations and denials and counter-accusations poured forth. The Sinn Feiners stoutly maintained that the dead Mayor had been murdered by agents of the British Government, while correspondents of London papers declared that the murder was an act of reprisal because the Mayor had publicly denounced some of the more heinous Sinn Fein offenses. After an inquest the coroner on April 17th reported that "the Lord Mayor had been murdered by the Irish Royal Constabulary under circumstances of the most callous brutality, officially directed by the British Government."

The coroner's jury returned a "verdict of willful murder against Lloyd George, Lord French, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and other high officials."

The Cork episode was followed in April by a guerrilla warfare against the police barracks and Government officers, despite the fact that Sir Hamar Greenwood, a Canadian by birth, was named to succeed Ian Macpherson as Chief Secretary for Ireland in the apparent hope that the change in officials might lead to a lull in the storm. But instead it increased. On April 3d, the very next day after the appointment, fires of incendiary origin were discovered in the offices of Government inspectors and tax-collectors, and many records and papers were burned. On the same day over two hundred police barracks were destroyed, and, as a result, some one hundred prisoners were landed in Mountjoy Prison, where they promptly went on a hunger strike. The Irish Trades Union Congress at once brought pressure to bear on the Government by calling a general strike, which, on April 13th, brought all business in Southern Ireland to a complete standstill. Such tactics had the desired effect, for on the following day the Government capitulated; the prisoners were released, and the strike called off.

Conditions became so bad that early in May the British authorities decided to send an army of occupation, estimated to exceed more than 80,000, and from May 15th onward these troops poured into the troubled isle. Naturally this move was bitterly resented, but resentment became doubly bitter when hundreds of discharged English and Scottish soldiers were added to the Royal Irish Constabulary. This move was met, however, by the radical element of Irish labor, who refused to unload munition supplies arriving at Dublin. On May 24th traffic was paralyzed when railwaymen went on strike and workers quit the power-stations. Nor was this all. The results of the elections held on June 4th indicated that the Sinn Feiners had swept the County Councils of Munster, Leinster, and Connaught, and had even carried strongholds in Ulster.

Emboldened by these successes, the revolutionaries redoubled their efforts against the police and the military, and warfare became even more barbarous and widespread. Especially was this true after the conviction by court martial on August 16th of Alderman Terence McSwiney, Lord Mayor of Cork and an ardent republican, for having seditious documents in his possession. McSwiney was removed to Brixton Prison, London, where he died after a hunger strike lasting seventy-four days. That his imprisonment and death, together with the sacking and burning of Balbriggan on September 21st by the "Black and Tans," the British recruits of the Royal Irish Constabulary, aroused to a greater degree the ire and determination of the extremists was soon evident, for on November 22d fourteen officers and ex-officers were killed in Dublin.

It is unnecessary for us to recount here the numerous murders, assassinations, and pitched battles that followed. Suffice it to say that late in December the British Government published an official statement charging the revolutionaries with having destroyed 69 courthouses in addition to the City Hall at Cork and property in the heart of that city to the value of $15,000,000, besides 532 Royal Irish Constabulary barracks. The report further stated that 73 barracks had been damaged, that 31 raids had been made on the mails, and that the Crown forces had suffered casualties of 54 killed and 116 wounded, while 176 policemen had been killed and 351 wounded.

364. De Valera, the Republican leader, demands self-determination for Ireland. Following the Prime

Minister's announcement, on December 10th, that martial law would be proclaimed in four Irish counties and that the death penalty would be imposed upon those who, after a certain date, were found in possession of arms or wearing unauthorized uniforms, came indications of a truce. On December 29th the Parliamentary Labor Party passed a resolution demanding that the Government withdraw all armed forces from Irish soil and allow elections to be held for an assembly to establish an Irish constitution. This was followed, on January 6th, 1921, by a conference between the Reverend Michael O'Flanagan, Vice-President of Sinn Fein, and Mr. Lloyd George. On every side, both in and out of Ireland, the hope was earnestly expressed that terrorism and warfare might cease. Peace without victory for the majority of the Sinn Feiners, however, was unthinkable, and on March 7th Eamonn de Valera, the Republican leader, issued a manifesto addressed to the representatives of foreign nations in which he demanded self-determination for Ireland.

365. **Efforts to put the Home Rule Act in operation.** For the time being these peace efforts were without result, and the only noticeable development was the effort to put the Home Rule Act in operation. To this end elections were held for members to the Parliaments. For the Southern Parliament four imperialists were returned from Dublin, but in all the other 124 constituencies Sinn Feiners (who had previously declared that they would not take the oath of allegiance to the Crown, and would thus prevent the new Parliament from functioning) were elected. Returns for the Northern Parliament indicated that 40 Unionists had been elected as against 11 Nationalists and Sinn Feiners, the latter including, however, De Valera, John MacNeil, Michael Collins, Chief of the Irish Republican Army, and Arthur Griffith.

The elections over, the Northern Parliament proceeded to organize under the guidance of Viscount Fitzalen (formerly Lord Edmund Talbot), the new Irish Viceroy. Sir James Craig became Premier, thus succeeding Sir Edward Carson as leader of the Ulster Unionists.

366. King George's plea and the London conference. Renewed efforts for peace were made when, in opening the Northern Parliament on June 22d, King George made an urgent plea for the settlement of "the age-long Irish problem." After referring to the fact that self-government had been granted to other parts of the Empire, also divided in race and religion, he said: "I am emboldened by that to look beyond the sorrow and anxiety which have clouded of late my vision of Irish affairs. I speak from a full heart when I pray that my coming to Ireland to-day may prove to be the first step towards an end of strife amongst her people, whatever their race or creed. In that hope I appeal to all Irishmen to pause, to stretch out the hand of forbearance and conciliation, to forgive and to forget, and to join in making for the land which they love a new era of peace, contentment, and good-will. It is my earnest desire that in Southern Ireland, too, there may ere long take place a parallel to what is now passing in this hall."

The favorable impression made by this speech was immediately capitalized by Lloyd George, who, on June 24th, sent a personal letter to De Valera inviting him to come to London, with such colleagues as he might choose, to attend a conference with the British Government and the Ulster Premier, Sir James Craig. The invitation was accepted, and on July 9th an order was issued for a truce, effective on July 11th, between the Crown forces in Ireland and the Irish Republican Army. On July 12th the Irish representatives — De Valera, Arthur Griffith, Austin Stack, R. C. Barton, Lord Mayor O'Neill of

Dublin, Count Plunkett, and Erskine Childers — arrived in London, and during the days following they held a number of conferences with the British Prime Minister. Negotiations thus begun continued, Premier Smuts of South Africa acting as intermediary during the first stages. In a letter to De Valera he expressed belief that Ulster ought to agree to unite with the rest of the island, but that he thought it would be unwise to attempt to force her to do so. He advised a free constitution for the rest of Ireland and was of opinion that, "if this were once established, economic forces would eventually bring about a united country." Meanwhile, however, Ulster Cabinet meetings disclosed an unyielding attitude toward any proposal which would diminish the power of the Northern Parliament or that would tend to unify the two belligerent sections.

On August 14th the public for the first time was informed in regard to the progress of the negotiations. The British Government, it was divulged, had made the following offer: full Dominion status for Ireland, with complete autonomy over taxation and finance; Ireland to maintain her own law courts and judges, her own military forces for home defense, and her own police; she was also to take over the Irish postal, health, education, and other services; Irishmen to determine for themselves whether the proposed new powers should be taken over by Ireland as a whole or separately by Southern and Northern Ireland, with or without a joint authority to harmonize their common interests. Several conditions, however, were declared vital: the Royal Navy alone must control the seas around Ireland and must have in Irish harbors and on Irish coasts the rights and liberties essential for naval purposes; the Irish Territorial Force, within certain reasonable limits, must conform in number to the military establishments of the other parts of the Kingdom; Great Britain to have all necessary facilities for the development of Ireland, of defense and communication by air, voluntary recruiting for the regular naval, military, and air forces of the Empire to be permitted throughout Ireland, no protective duties or other restrictions to be placed by either the British or the Irish Government on the flow of transport, trade, and commerce between any parts of the British Isles, and, finally, that Ireland should assume responsibility for a share of the national debt and of the liability for war pensions (failing agreement, to be determined by arbitration).

Replying to these proposals, De Valera stated that the conditions attached to the British offer involved a control which Ireland could not accept. Dominion status, he declared, was very illusory. The freedom of the Dominions from British interference, he held, was due chiefly to the distances that separated them from England. As for the issue between the political minority and the great majority of the Irish people, that, in his opinion, was a question for the Irish people to settle. In conclusion, he declared that his reply did not, however, close the door to peace and to an understanding.

The next move was made by Lloyd George, who declared that no British Government could ever grant Ireland the right to secede. "The geographical propinquity of Ireland to the British Isles," he said, "is a fundamental fact." In answer to this proposition De Valera on August 25th sent the Dail Eireann's reply repudiating the argument of "geographical propinquity." The note further suggested that the Dail Eireann was ready to appoint plenipotentiaries to secure a peace based on the principle of "the consent of the governed." Lloyd George's reply showed disappointment, whether feigned or otherwise, with the

Dail's communication, and reiterated his absolute rejection of Irish independence, but expressed willingness to continue negotiations.

The Republicans, however, were not in a yielding attitude and stated their position as before, whereupon the British Premier insisted that they give a definite reply as to whether they were "prepared to enter a conference to ascertain how the association of Ireland with the community of nations known as the British Empire can best be reconciled with Irish national aspirations." After a further exchange of letters, a decision was reached to hold a conference in London on October 11th.

The English delegates, in addition to the Premier, included Lord Birkenhead, Sir Hamar Greenwood, Austin Chamberlain, Sir Laming Worthington-Evans, and Winston Spencer Churchill, all Government officials. Arthur Griffith, Michael Collins, R. C. Barton, Gavan Duffy, and E. J. Duggan were the Irish representatives. De Valera was not named, but in spite of this fact the Unionists in the House of Commons brought forward a resolution that the Government be censured for negotiating with Sinn Fein! Fortunately they were defeated by a vote of ten to one, and negotiations went steadily forward until December 6th, when a treaty of agreement was signed by the delegates.

367. The agreement for an Irish Free State. The chief provisions of this epoch-making document were as follows: Ireland is to be styled as the Irish Free State and shall have the same constitutional status in the Empire that the self-governing Dominions enjoy, with a Parliament having power to make laws for peace and order, and a responsible executive. A representative of the Crown in Ireland shall be appointed in like manner as the Governor-General of Canada. Members of the Irish

Parliament are to take an oath of allegiance to the Constitution of the Irish Free State and to the Crown. The Irish Free State shall assume its share of the public debt of the United Kingdom and make provision for war pensions. Until an agreement is made by the two Governments whereby the Irish Free State undertakes her own coastal defense, such defense shall be undertaken by the British Navy. Irish armaments shall not exceed in size such proportion of the British military establishments as that which the population of Ireland bears to the population of Great Britain. The ports of Great Britain and the Irish Free State shall be freely open to the ships of the other country on payment of the customary port and other dues.

In respect to Northern Ireland, it stated that, until the expiration of one month after the ratification of the treaty, the powers of Parliament and the Government of the Irish Free State would not be exercised over that territory. It was also stipulated that the provisions of the Government of Ireland Act of 1920, to which we have already alluded, should, in so far as they relate to Northern Ireland, remain in full force and effect, and no election would be held for the return of members to serve in the Parliament of the Irish Free State for the constituencies of Northern Ireland unless a resolution is passed by both houses of the Parliament of Northern Ireland in favor of holding such elections before the end of said month. If before the expiration of one month the houses of the Northern Parliament should petition the British Government that Northern Ireland be excluded from the Free State, then a commission of three persons — one appointed by the Government of the Free State, one by the Government of Northern Ireland, and a third by the British Government — would determine in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants, so far as might be compatible with economic and geographical conditions, the boundaries between Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State. If after one month Northern Ireland had not excluded herself, then her Parliament would continue to exercise the powers conferred by the Act of 1920, subject to certain restrictions. In this event it was arranged that the Government of Northern Ireland and the Provisional Government of Southern Ireland should adjust questions relating to defense, revenue, and import and export duties. Neither Government, it was explicitly stated, should either directly or indirectly endow any religion or prohibit or restrict the free exercise thereof, or give any preference or impose any disability on account of religious belief or religious status, or affect prejudicially the right of any child to attend a school receiving public money without attending the religious instruction of the school. Nor was either Government to make any discrimination in respect to state aid between schools under the management of different religious denominations, or divert from any religious denomination or any educational institution any of its property except for public-utility purposes and on payment of compensation. Arrangements were also made for the provisional administration of Southern Ireland pending the establishment of a permanent government.

This treaty, which we have outlined in considerable detail, received the stamp of approval of both houses of the British Parliament on December 16th, the vote in the Commons being 401 to 58, and in the Lords 166 to 47. The opposition in the Lords was headed by Carson, who by this time had been elevated to a lordship.

368. The Free State Treaty is ratified after a bitter contest. The question of ratification aroused a bitter storm in the Dail Eireann between Arthur Griffith and

Michael Collins, who advocated adoption, and Eamonn de Valera, who was just as strongly opposed. Many local public bodies adopted resolutions favoring acceptance, and the press was almost unanimous in favoring its acceptance. Finally, on January 7th, the treaty was accepted by the close vote of 64 to 57. But the ranks of the Republicans were split wide. De Valera immediately resigned the presidency of the "Republic" and offered himself for reëlection in the Dail, but was defeated 60 to 58. It was a bitter defeat for those who stood for complete independence.

After the withdrawal of De Valera's followers, Griffith was on January 10th unanimously elected president by 64 deputies, and he selected a cabinet composed of Michael Collins, Minister of Finance; George Gavan Duffy, Foreign Affairs; Eamon J. Duggan, Home Affairs; William T. Cosgrave, Local Government; Kevin O'Higgins, Economic Affairs; and Richard Mulcahy, Defense. A few days later (January 12th) King George issued a proclamation of amnesty "in respect to political offenses committed in Ireland prior to the truce of the previous July." Mr. Griffith and his Cabinet then summoned the Southern Parliament, which proceeded formally to ratify the treaty. A few days later evacuation of the British army of 60,000 began.

But the end was not yet. Disgruntled and determined not to yield to what more and more appeared to be a logical solution of the long-standing problem, De Valera and his followers did all in their power to hamper the work of the Provisional Government. Notwithstanding this fact, however, the Government continued to function, and on June 16th the supporters of the treaty won a sweeping victory at the polls when members were elected to the new Parliament. General Mellowes, Erskine Childers, Sean Nolan, and John MacSwiney were among the De-Valera leaders who suffered defeat, the final returns giving the Treatyites 58, Antis 36, Labor 17, Farmers 7, Trade and Commercial Independents 6, Trinity College 4.

369. Civil war between supporters of the Free State and Republicans. This election touched off the spark of the civil war, the storm clouds of which for months had hung ominously on the horizon. Raids, reprisals, courts martial, and assassinations again became the order of the day. On June 22d, for instance, the civilized world was shocked by the assassination in London of Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wilson, an Ulster extremist, by Nationalist sympathizers. De Valera, in a statement, disavowed any knowledge of the assassins and attributed the tragedy to the Irish settlement, which he scathingly denounced. Just a month later one of his trusted lieutenants, Harry Boland, formerly Dail Eireann representative to the United States, died from wounds which he received in resisting arrest at the hands of Free State officials. Almost immediately threats of reprisal were rumored, and fears were expressed for the safety of Arthur Griffith, President of the Provisional Government. But a natural death rather than an assassin's bullet carried that great leader to his grave on August 12th. His untimely death was a grievous loss to the struggling Free State. But it was scarcely more serious than the death, less than two weeks later, of Michael Collins, Commander-in-Chief of the Free State Army, who was struck down by rebel fire in County Cork.

370. The Irish Free State adopts a constitution and begins its career. Grave as these losses were, they did not wreck the Free State. At the first session of the new Parliament, which opened peacefully on September 9th, William T. Cosgrave was chosen President to succeed Griffith, and Richard Mulcahy was named Commander-in-Chief. Having filled these important positions and passed successfully through what was regarded as the critical first week, the Parliament then turned its attention to the new Constitution of the Irish Free State.

This document, the draft of which had been completed just prior to the general elections, first of all gives force to the Anglo-Irish Treaty and expressly declares that any part of the Constitution or any law enacted under it which may be repugnant to the treaty is void. It places the relations between Ireland and the Empire on the same basis as those with Canada and the other Dominions. Every member of the Free State Parliament is required to subscribe faith and allegiance to the Constitution and the King. The document provides for universal suffrage, proportional representation, and the initiative and referendum, and places great power over finance in the Lower House. Freedom of religion and conscience are guaranteed, and citizens are protected against arbitrary power of court martial. It exempts the Free State from participation in war without the consent of Parliament except in case of actual invasion. The Irish Supreme Court is given the fullest powers, subject only to the right of citizens to appeal to the King in Council against the Supreme Court's decision.

The Parliament is to consist of two elected Houses, and executive authority consists of the King, assisted by a Council of twelve ministers who must be responsible to the Chamber. Judges are appointed by the executive.

The instrument as finally adopted was submitted to the British Parliament at its autumn session for approval. By December 5th it had passed both Houses unanimously and unamended, and on the same day King George gave Royal sanction to the legislation setting up the Irish Free State as a Dominion in the British Empire. On the same date also Timothy Healy, a veteran advocate of freedom for Ireland, was appointed the first Governor-General of the Free State. His appointment, significantly enough, was hailed with satisfaction by all classes of Irishmen except the extreme Republicans. His appointment, it was felt, would kill the extremists' argument that the Governor-General would be the real ruler and the puppet of Downing Street.

On December 6th the Irish tricolor of orange, white, and green floated over the Government buildings. The great ideal for which Irishmen had for generations aspired was at last realized. But there was no wild rejoicing, for the leaders fully appreciate that stupendous tasks are yet to be solved. In inaugurating the new era President Cosgrave appealed for union. To Ulster he extended a friendly hand, denying any intention to employ coercive measures against her: quite to the contrary, he expressed the hope that they would unite with the rest of the Irish nation "and share in the government as well as in the prosperity that will flow into the nation."

What the future of Ireland will be remains to be seen. The extremists, who want a completely independent Ireland, are still trouble-makers. The court-martialing and execution of one of their leaders, Erskine Childers, just before the Irish Free State came into existence, undoubtedly embittered them still further. The civil war is not yet (December, 1922) at an end, and the Ulster Parliament on December 7th unanimously voted not to unite with the Free State. The situation, perhaps, is best summed up by the *Irish Times*, which, on the occasion of the inception of the Free State, declared that the Irish people were now in control of their own destinies. "Their future," remarks this journal, "will be what they choose to make it, and the honor of success or the shame of failure will fall upon themselves."

APPENDIX

SOME IRISH SURNAMES

Irish patronymics.

As explained in the note on Brehon Law (see section **12**), all Irish surnames were originally patronymics; that is, names formed from the name of the father or grandfather. These names have the prefixes *Mac*, "son," and *Hua*, *Ua*, or *O*, as the word successively became, "grandson," identical with the Greek word **υἱός**, Huios, "son." During the purely Irish period, which ended about the time of Roderick O'Conor, nearly all Irish families traced their descent from the three sons of Milid, — Heber, Eremon, and Ir; a few claimed descent from Ithe, the uncle of Milid. One may find an exact parallel in the English pedigrees, traced to-day from ancestors who "came over with William the Conqueror," or in Russian pedigrees of families "descended from Rurik," the Norse conqueror of Russia. We shall illustrate the subject by giving a number of names traced by tradition from these founders of the Irish race, showing their early Gaelic form and spelling, and adding the derivations which are given for a number of them, in "O'Hart's Irish Pedigrees." Some of these derivations are conjectural, while others are undoubtedly correct. Where practicable, we shall add the first occurrence of each name in the "Annals of the Four Masters"; but it must be remembered that the custom of using surnames does not seem to have become general before the time of the Danish raids, though all the pedigrees to which these surnames belong go back to the dawn of Irish tradition. Their preservation is undoubtedly due to the institution of heraldry, it being the duty of the herald to enumerate the ancestors of his chief, with a list of their exploits. We can only give a few out of many Irish surnames, selecting those which are most famous, and those whose origin is most completely obscured by the modern spelling. It should be understood that these names were written down by Englishmen who could neither pronounce nor spell Gaelic; if an Englishman ignorant of French were to try to write down French surnames by ear, we should have a similar and equally unrecognizable result.

Surnames of families descended from Heber.

CASEY (O'Cathasaigh, descendant of Cathasach); lords of Saithne, a subdivision of Magh Breagh, in Meath. "Annals of the Four Masters": "A. D. 1018: Oissene O'Cathasaigh, lord of Mughdhorna, lord of Saithne, slain."

CLANCY (MacFlannchadha, son of Flannchadh, from *flann*, blood, indicating red); "A. D. 1241: Domnall MacFlannchadha, chief of Dartry, died."

COGHLAN (MacCoghlain, son of Coghlan, from *cochal*, a cowl or hood); "A. D. 1134: Aedh MacCoghlain, lord of Dealbhna-Eathra (Delvin, now part of the King's County), died."

CULLEN (O'Cuillen, descendant of Coilean, from *coilean*, a young warrior); "A. D. 1109: Maelisa O'Cuillen, noble bishop of the North of Ireland, died."

HOGAN (O'h-Ogain, descendant of Ogan, from *ogan*, youth); "A. D. 1091: Ceannfaeladh O'h-Ogain, successor of Brenainn, died."

KEARNEY (O'Cearnaigh, descendant of Cearnach, from *cearnach*, victorious); "A. D. 1096: Eoghan O'Cearnaigh, airchineach of Doire, died."

Kennedy (O'Ceinneidigh, descendant of Ceinneidigh); "A. D. 1180: Domnall O'Ceinneidigh, lord of Ormond, died."

MacCarthy (MacCarthaigh, son of Cartach, commander against the Danes in A. D. 1045). Lords of Desmond.

MacEniry (MacIneirghe, son of Ingeirci, from *eirghe*, a rising); "A. D. 1029: Cinnaed MacIneirghe, lord of Conallo (in Limerick), slain in battle."

MacMahon (MacMathghamhna, son of Mathghamhain, who was son of Turlogh Mor, king of Ireland, who died A. D. 1086); lords of Corco-Baiscinn, in Clare.

MacNamara (MacConmara, son of Cumara, from *cu*, warrior, and *mara*, of the sea); "A. D. 1099: Domnall MacConmara, lord of Ui-Caisin, died."

Moriarty (O'Muircheartaigh, son of Muirceartach, from *muir*, sea, and *ceart*, just); "A. D. 1107: O'Muircheartaigh, lord of Eoghanacht of Loch Leine (Killarney), was expelled from his lordship by MacCarthy, king of Desmond."

O'Brien (O'Briain, descendant of Brian (Boru), who was descended from Cormac Cas, second son of Olioll Olum, king of Munster, by his wife Sabh, daughter of Conn of the Hundred Battles; from *brian*, great strength). In modern times the O'Briens were marquises of Thomond, earls of Inchiquin, and barons of Burren; many of them were distinguished commanders of the Irish Brigade in France, as earls of Clare and counts of Thomond.

O'Carroll (O'Cearbhaill, descendant of Cearbhall, from *cearbhall*, slaughter); "A. D. 1043: O'Cearbhaill, lord of Fearnmhagh, slain."

O'Corcoran (O'Corcrain, descendant of Corcran, from *corcra*, red); "A. D. 1001: Cahalan O'Corcrain, abbot of Devenish, died."

O'Daly (O'Dalaigh, descendant of Dalach); "A. D., 1139: Cuchonnacht O'Dalaigh, chief ollav in poetry, died."

O'Donoghue (O'Donchadha, descendant of Donchadh); "A. D. 1010: Flann, son of O'Donchadha, successor of St. Enda, of Ara (in Tipperary) died." Dunghal O'Donchadha, king of Cashel, fought at Clontarf, 1014.

O'DONOVAN (O'Donnobhain, descendant of Donnobhan, who was defeated and slain by Brian Boru in 976). Lords of Clancahill.

O'GARA (O'Gadhra, descendant of Gadhra); "A. D. 964: Tiachleach O'Gadhra was slain; he was lord of South Luighne," or Leyney, in Sligo.

O'GRADY (O'Gradhaighe, descendant of Gradach); "A. D. 1151: Aneslis O'Gradhaighe slain" Lords of Cinel Dunghaile in Claire.

O'HARA (O'h-Eadhradh or O'h-Eaghra, descendant of Eaghra); Eaghra was son of Poprigh, lord of Luighne, or Leyney, who died in A. D. 926.

O'KEEFE (O'Caoimhe, descendant of Caimh); "A. D. 1063: Ceallach O'Caoimhe, anchorite, died." Lords of Gleannamhnach.

O'LEARY (O'Laoghaire, descendant of Laoghaire; from *laer*, sea, and *righ*, king, king of the sea).

O'LONERGAN (O'Longargain, descendant of Longargain, from *longair*, a ship's crew); "A. D. 1099: Ánnudh O'Longargain, successor of Colum, died."

O'MAHONY (O'Mathghamhna, descendant of Mathghamhain; perhaps from *maghghabhuin*, a bear, literally a calf of the plain); "A. D. 1113: Eochaidh O'Mathghamhna, king of Ulidia."

O'SULLIVAN (O'Suilleabhain, descendant of Suillebhan, from *suilebhan*, one-eyed); descended from Aodh Dubh, king of Munster. "A. D. 1253: Ailinn O'Suilleabhain, bishop of Lismore, died." Lords of Beara, now Berehaven, Cork.

PLUNKETT (O'Pluingceid, descendant of Pluingcead, from *planc*, strike, and *cead*, first). Descended from Doncadh, son of Brian Boru. Lords of Fingal.

PLUNKET (same origin), at present, lords of Louth, Fingal, and Dunsany.

QUINN (O'Cuinn, descendant of Conn, that is, Conn Mor, whose son Niall was slain at Clontarf, A. D. 1014; "A. D.

1095: Augustin O'Cuinn, chief brehon (judge) of Leinster, died."

Some families descended from Ithe.

BARRY (O'Baire, descendant of Barrach); "A. D. 1240: In this monastery Barrach Mor was also interred."

COFFEY (O'Cobhthaigh, descendant of Cobthach Fionn, from *cobthach*, victorious): "A. D. 1203: Ainmire O'Cobhthaigh, abbot of the church of Derry-Columkille."

Some families descended from Ir.

CAHILL (O'Cathail, descendant of Cathal, from *cathal*, valor); "A. D. 1033: Aenghus O'Cathail, lord of Eoghanacht-Locha-Lein (in Kerry), killed."

GUINNESS or MACGUINNESS (MacAenghusa, son of Aenghus); "A. D. 956: Domnall MacAenghusa, lord of Ui-Eathach (Iveagh, Down), died." Descended from Aengus, grandson of Tiobrad Tireach, king of Ulster, contemporary with Conn of the Hundred Battles.

HEALY (O'h-Ealighe, descendant of Eilighe); "A. D. 1342: Conor O'h-Eilighe, died." Lords of Baile-Ui-Eilighe, now Hollybrook, in Sligo.

LYNCH (O'Loingsigh, descendant of Longseach, father of one of the kings of Ulster, from *longseach*, mariner); "A. D. 1030: Conchobhar O'Loingsigh." Lords of Dal-Araidhe.

MOORE (O'Mordha, descendant of Mordha, from *mordha*, proud); "A. D. 1017: Cearnach O'Mordha, lord of Laeighis (Leix), killed."

O'FARRELL (O'Fearghail, descendant of Feargal, king of Conmacne, who was killed at Clontarf, 1014).

REYNOLDS (MacRaghnall, son of Ragnal); "A. D. 1237: Cathal MacRaghnall, chief of Muintir-Eolais."

SHANLY (O'Seanlaoich, descendant of Seanlaoch, from *sean*, old, and *laoch*, hero).

WARD (Mac an-Bhaird, son of the bard, that is, of Shane, son of Conor, bard of Ulster. 1356).

Some families descended from Eremon.

AGNEW (MacGniomhaighe, son of Gniomhach, from *gniomh*, active); descended from Eoin MacDonnell-Gniomhach.

BOYLE (O'Baoighill, descendant of Baoghal, from *baoghal*, peril); "A. D. 1099: Caenchomhrac O'Baoighail, bishop of Ard-Maca."

BRADY (O'Bruide, descendant of Bruid); "A. D. 1256: Tiernan MacBrady, slain." Chiefs of Cuil-Brighdin, in East Brefny.

COLEMAN (O'Columain, descendant of Colman Mor, son of Diarmaid, king of Ireland). "A. D. 1081: Cucatha O'Colmain, died."

CONWAY (MacConmidhe, son of Cumidhe); "A. D. 1095: Amhlaeibh MacConmidhe, chief of Silronain, slain."

CORRIGAN (O'Coraidhegain, descendant of Coraidhegan, from *coraidhe*, hero).

COWELL (MacCathmhaoil, son of Cathmal); "A. D. 1185: Gillchreest MacCathmhaoil, chief of Kinel-Farry."

CROLY (O'Cruaidh-locha, from *cruaidh*, hard, and *laoch*, hero, meaning hardy champion).

DARCY (O'Dorchaidhe, descendant of Dorchadh, from *dorchadh*, dark); "A. D. 1484: Edmund, son of Darcy."

DEMPSEY (O'Dimasaigh, "descendant of Dimasach"); "A. D. 1162: Ceallach O'Dimasaigh, slain."

DILLON (Dilmhain, from *dile*, flood); descended from Lochan Dilmhain, brother of Colman Mor, king of Meath. "A. D. 1352: Dabuck Dilmhain, chief of the Dilmhains of Connacht, died."

DOHERTY (O'Dochartaigh, descendant of Dochartach, from *dochar*, harm); "A. D. 1188: Eachmarcach O'Dochartaigh," who afterwards became chief of Kinel-Connell. Also chiefs of Ardmire and Inishowen.

DOWLING (O'Dunlaing, descendant of Dunlaing); "A. D. 1041: Cuicche O'Dunlaing, lord of Laeighis (Leix), slain."

DUNNE (O'Duinn, descendant of Dunn, from *dun*, fortress);

"A. D. 1023: Donnchadh O'Duinn, lord of Breagh, seized upon."

DWYER (O'Duibhidhir, descendant of Duibhuidhir); A. D. 1369.

EGAN (O'h-Aedhagain, descendant of Aedhaghan, from *aedh*, "eye," and *aghain*, "kindle"); "A. D. 945: Scolaighe O'h-Aedhagain, lord of Dartraighe (Dartry), slain."

FERGUSON (MacFearghusa, son of Feargus, from *fear*, man, and *gus*, "strength").

FINNERTY (O'Finnachta, descendant of Fionnachtach, that is, "snow-white," one of the twelve lords of Cruachan); "A. D. 878: Suibhne O'Finnachta, bishop of Cilldara (Kildare), died."

FLYNN (O'Flainn, descendant of Flann); "A. D. 1036: Aenghus O'Flainn, successor of Brennain of Cluainfearta, died."

GAFFNEY (MacGamhnaigh, son of Gamhnach; descended from Gothfrith Gamhnach).

GALLAGHER (O'Gallchobhair, descendant of Gallchobhar); "A. D. 1022: Maelcobha O'Gallchobhair, successor of Scrin-Adhamhnain, died."

GRIFFIN (O'Criomhthain, "descendant of Criomhthan," from *criomthan*, "fox"); A. D. 1225.

HART (O'h-Airt, descendant of Art); "A. D. 1087: Maelruanaidh O'h-Airt, lord of Teathba, died."

HENNESY (MacAenghusa, son of Aengus, from *aon*, excellent, and *gus*, strength); "A. D. 956: Domnall MacAenghusa, lord of the Ui-Eathach, died."

HIGGINS (O'h-Uigin, descendant of Uigin, from *uige*, strength); "A. D. 1349: Gilla-na-naev O'h-Uigin, poet, died."

KAVANAGH (O'Caomhanaigh, descendant of (Domnall) Caomhanach); "A. D. 1175: Domnall Caomhanach, son of Dermot, king of Leinster, slain." From this comes the French Cavaignac.

KELLY (O'Ceallaigh, descendant of Ceallach); "A. D.

1014: Aedh O'Ceallaigh, son of Tadhg, son of Murchadh, lord of Ui-Maine, slain."

KEOGH (MacEochaidh, son of Eochaidh, great-grandson of Eanna Ceannsalach, king of Leinster in the time of Saint Patrick. From *eachach*, horseman, Latin *eques*).

KILLBRIDE (MacGiolla-Brighid, son of the devotee of Bridget).

LAWLOR (O'Leathlobhair, descendant of Leathlobhar); "A. D. 912: Loingseach O'Leathlobhair, king of Ulidia."

MACAULAY (MacAmhalghadha, son of Amhalghadha); "A. D. 1082: Finnchadh MacAmhalghadha, chief of Clann Breasail, died."

MACDERMOT (MacDairmuid, son of Diarmaid, from *Diarmaid*, god of arms); "A. D. 1176: Conor MacDiarmuid, lord of Moylurg."

MACDOWELL (MacDubhghaill, son of the Dark Foreigner, Dubh Ghall, who was king of the Western Isles in 1144).

MACSHEEHY (MacSithaigh, son of Sithach); "A. D. 1397: John MacSheehy, slain."

MACSWEENY (MacSuibhne, son of Suibhne); "A. D. 1356: Dowell MacSweeny, slain."

MADDEN (O'Madadhain, descendant of Madadhan); "A. D. 1047: Muircheartach, lord of Ui-Breasail, slain."

MAGUIRE (MacUidhir, son of Odhar, from *odhar*, pale-faced); "A. D. 1344: Brian Maguire, son of Rory, died."

MOLLOY (O'Maoilmhuaidh, descendant of Maelmhuadh); "A. D. 1156: Aedh O'Maoilmhuaidh, lord of Feara-Ceall, slain."

MORGAN (O'Muiregain, descendant of Muiregan, from *muiregan*, mariner).

MURRAY (O'Muireadhaigh, descendant of Muireadach); "A. D. 1086: O'Muireadhaigh, chief of Muintir-Tlamain, slain."

O'BYRNE, BYRNE (O'Brain, descendant of Bran); A. D. 1119: "Aedh O'Brain, lord of Leinster, died." Lords of Ranelagh (Wicklow).

O'CONNOR (O'Conchobhair, descendant of Conchobhar, the helping warrior); "A. D. 1036: Aedh-an-gha-bhearnaigh O'Conchobhair (Hugh of the Broken Spear), king of Connacht."

O'FLAHERTY (O'Flaithbhearthaigh, descendant of Flaithbheartach); "A. D. 968: Murchadh O'Flaithbheartaigh, lord of Aileach."

O'GORMAN (O'Gormain, MacGormain, descendant of Gorman, from *gorman*, illustrious); "A. D. 1123: Aenghus O'Gormain, successor of Comhgall, died."

O'HAGAN (O'h-Ocain, descendant of Ocan); "A. D. 1103: Raghnall O'h-Ocain, lawgiver of Telach-Og, slain."

O'HANLON (O'h-Anluain, descendant of Anluan); "A. D. 1111: Donnchadh O'h-Anluain, lord of Ui-Niallain, slain."

O'MURPHY, MURPHY (O'Murchadha, descendant of Murchadh); "A. D. 1031: Flaithbheartach O'Murchadha, chief of Cinel-Boghaine, slain."

O'NEILL (descendants of Niall of the Nine Hostages, who were taken from Ulster, Leinster, Munster, Connacht, Britain, Pictland, Dalriada, Saxonland, Morini (France); in Irish, Niall Naoi Ghiallach). Monarchs of Ireland, and kings of Ulster.

O'REILLY (O'Ragheallaigh, descendant of Raghallach who was slain at Clontarf, 1014).

O'ROURKE (O'Ruairc, descendant of Ruarc); "A. D. 990: Aedh O'Ruairc, heir of Connacht, slain."

O'SHAUGHNESSY (O'Seachnasaigh, descendant of Seachnasach); "A. D. 1040: Diarmaid O'Seachnasaigh, successor of Seachnall, died."

O'SHEA (O'Seaghdha, descendant of Seaghdha); "A. D. 1095: Mathghamhain O'Seaghdha, lord of Corca-Duibhne, died."

O'TOOLE (O'Tuathail, descendant of Tuathal); Tuathal, the left-handed, died in A. D. 956.

It should be remembered that these are only a few names, selected from a very large number which existed in Ireland before the coming of the Normans; many of those omitted for lack of space are descended from equally distinguished warriors, judges, or poets. There are two more chief divisions of Irish family names besides the original Gaelic: Norman names like De Courcy and Fitzgerald, and English or Scotch names belonging to families brought over during the various plantations.

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